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I-CAMÓES AS A LYRIC POET

In the course of her history of nearly eight centuries Portugal has produced a rich and varied literature, which combines high cosmopolitan aspirations with national characteristics clearly individual. Not being entirely original—no literature is—it was considerably influenced by other literatures and by general development of ideas. Indeed, to these influences correspond its periods of greatest activity, progress and renewal, even as its most typically national characteristics coincide with Portugal's historical period of greatest brilliance and political and social originality. It is needless to say that, apart from this parallel development, some writers of genius struck notes of originality due solely to their creative genius.

From Brittany and Provence we received our initial literary impulse; from Italy and Spain the seeds of the Renaissance; from Spain the formal and artificial tendency adopted by literature generally in the seventeenth century; from Italy certain dramatic tendencies in the beginning of the eighteenth century; from France the aesthetic theory which prevailed in the Arcadian restoration in the second half of the same century; from France, England and Germany the Romantic revival; and from France and Germany the critical reaction towards realism.

To the peculiar circumstances of Portuguese life in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was due the very typical character of Portugal's classical sixteenth century literature. Taking these circumstances as a whole, the critic may distinguish the following essential characteristics in the development of our literature: the cycle of discoveries, the predominance of lyrism,

the constant taste for epics, the lack of drama, the weakness of the critical and philosophical elements, a certain mysticism of thought and feeling, and the divorce between writers and readers. By the characteristic which I have called the cycle of discoveries is understood the collection of works dealing with the discoveries by land and sea, and their moral, intellectual and political consequences. Their date falls chiefly in the sixteenth century, in the first classical period. This extends from 1502—the year in which Gil Vicente, by reciting the *Monologo do Vaqueiro* in the chamber of Queen Maria, laid the foundations of the national drama—till 1580, the year of Camões's death and of Portugal's loss of independence under the Spanish domination. This period of our literature combines in a most original way three elements:

 The medieval, consisting of the old metres, the sources and internal structure of Gil Vicente's plays; the chronicles of the kings such as those written by Fernão Lopez;

and the romances of chivalry.

(2) The classical, consisting of the imitation of Italy, the classical drama (tragedy and comedy), the pastoral romances and eclogues, the new metres and their variations, and the epic; all this being due to the reform effected by Sá de Miranda and the doctrines of Antonio Ferreira.

(3) The national elements, consisting of the intense action in Gil Vicente's drama, its internal plot which changed the form of the auto, forcing it into a complex evolution; the histories relating to the colonies; the epic of Camões and the creation of new genres such as the narratives of shipwrecks, the logs of sea voyages, the reports of land journeys, all the works concerning exotic ethnography and geographical description, which contain unconsciously much literary art.

By the predominance of lyrism we must understand the preference given throughout the history of Portuguese literature, by authors and readers, to lyric poetry, both in poetry and art. In this lyrism we must also include a certain personal outlook of the Portuguese, a subjective love of dwelling on and revealing his own moral existence, of laying bare his soul and throwing

his individuality into high relief. In this sense there exists lyrism in works which have nothing of lyrical poetry, because they are dominated by this extreme subjectivity. The most ancient literary record of the Portuguese language is a lyric poem of the year 1189, a love poem of Paio Soarez de Taveiros to Maria Paez Ribeiro, a lady celebrated for her charms and adventures and known as the Ribeirinha. From that date through the great medieval song-books of Provencal style, the Cancioneiro Geral of Garcia de Resende, the bucolic poetry of Bernardim Ribeiro and Christovam Falcão, the sixteenth century poets, headed by Camões, those of the seventeenth century, especially Rodrigues Lobo, through all the academies and arcadias of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. through romanticism and realism down to the movement of the present day, which is marked by poets of intense expression. the preference was always given to lyric poetry. And when, as in the seventeenth century, prose attained great brilliance with D. Francisco Manuel, Lucena, Bernardes, Luis de Sousa and Vieira, it adopted this taste for lyrism; and thus we find in historical and religious works and in letters much personal lyrism. Rodrigues Lobo, founder of our artistic prose, is, owing to his date at the end of the sixteenth century, at the same time the last great poet of that century and the first great prosewriter of the seventeenth.

The constant taste for epics is revealed not only in the great abundance of epic material which the life of the nation provided for the imagination of its artists but also in the epic spirit which invaded other *genres* and in some of them, history for instance, damaged their sense of proportion and limited their critical spirit. The lack of drama is amply confirmed by a consideration of its history. Of the medieval drama there only remain a few very rudimentary traces, known through indirect sources; the *auto*, created by the genius of Gil Vicente, progressed no further in Portugal after his death and became merged in the anonymous literature of the people; and only outside our frontiers, in Spain, did it continue its evolution till it attained the high development of Lope de Vega, Calderón de la Barca, Tirso de Molina and Velez de Guevara. Lope's treatise,

entitled Arte nueva de hacer comedias en nuestro tiembo (1609). is a true theoretical summary in which the aesthetic theory of the drama of the indigenous Gil Vicente is contrasted with that of the classics. The latter is not abundant nor of great value in the sixteenth century, with the exception of Antonio Ferreira's Castro, which inaugurates on the stage that tragic conception of love which later made Racine's literary fortune. After our golden age-excepting a few stray examples, as those of Mattos Fragoso and Jacintho Cordeiro, based on Spanish models, D. Francisco Manuel de Mello, whose play was probably the source of Molière's Bourgeois Gentilhomme, Antonio Iosé da Silva, who introduced his puppets in musical comedy, and the attempts at a restoration on the part of Diniz, Garção and Figueiredoone must come to the romantic revival in order to find playwrights who excite interest and emotion, foremost among them being the great name of Garrett, with his Frei Luiz de Sousa.

The weakness of the critical and philosophical elements displayed in our literary development did not prevent the existence in Portugal of a school of literary criticism and another of philosophical speculation. The influence of literary criticism was, however, never important: it was exercised by Antonio Ferreira in the sixteenth century and in the middle of the eighteenth by the theoreticians of the literary academical Arcadia, with their ideas of reform. The nineteenth century saw the use of learned criticism, which however never emerged from the narrow limits of the universities. In the field of philosophy Portuguese thought reflected with varying brilliance and faithfulness the principal currents of ideas, but only at a few powerful moments did it influence in its turn and react with considerable intensity. In the thirteenth century it produced one of the most excellent generalizers of Aristotelian logical doctrines, Pedro Iulião, who became Pope John XXI. In the sixteenth century it produced one of the most vigorous and closely reasoned treatises in the revival of Pyrrhonism, the Quod nihil scitur of Francisco Sanches, an introductory treatise which makes him worthy to rank with Montaigne and Pierre Charron. and an original forerunner of Campanella and Descartes. In the same century the eloquent voice of Antonio de Gouvêa defended Aristotle from the attacks of Pierre de la Ramée. Leon Hebreo, in his Dialogos do Amor, wrapped the old doctrines of Plato in an aesthetic theory of love (Philographic); and a legion of exponents and commentators, Pedro Fonseca at their head, waged a spirited war on behalf of Aristotle when Bacon's reform was beginning to echo far and wide. It was Sanches and Leon Hebreo who contributed something new to thought, but it was the Coimbra school—as the champions of Aristotle are known in Portugal, because they were professors of Coimbra University—that truly represented the orthodox tradition of the nation's thought, which was as much opposed to novelty as the Roman Catholic religion was to heresy. These are the four thinkers who have principally attracted the attention of foreign critics.

In our literature philosophic thought is to be found chiefly in Camões, follower of the neo-Platonism of Leon Hebreo, in mysticism in its various shades, and in the materialist, evolutionary and positivist currents of the realistic school, side by side with which exist the spiritual doctrines of that great poet Anthero de Ouental. But mysticism is an exaltation of religious thought which accepts direct communication with God and rigorously examines the life of the soul and the working of the mind in order that it should not depart one hair's breadth from the path marked out by its religious creed. Mysticism is amply represented in Portuguese literature, impregnated as it is with the thought of God. Mystic is a large part of our medieval literature, the lives of saints, moral treatises and some of the historical writings. Later the whole school of Alcobaca, the prose writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. some novelists and many authors of works of religious edification. the prophetic poetry, Frei Antonio das Chagas, Soror Violante do Ceu and the inimitable Samuel Usque, Frei Amador Arraes, Frei Heitor Pinto and Frei Thomé de Iesus owe their beauty and charm to the aesthetic idealisation of mysticism, which becomes in their minds an inexhaustible source of emotion. The subjective character of this literature is not calculated to obtain for it a wide public, rather it keeps it aloof from the people. Cultured literature has seldom had recourse to folk-lore and its themes.

The literary imagination of the Portuguese, with these characteristics, has no great tendency toward external psychological analysis or the study of characters. The gallery of our literary types is therefore small as compared with the abundance of those in which the literatures of England and France, with their objective spirit, find delight. Our psychological creation almost always takes the form of description and idealizing of moral aspects, collectivities, spiritual incidents and tendencies in which we all recognize something of ourselves, although not the whole of any of us—moments in which the artist's spirit identifies itself with that of his contemporaries under the same impulse of passionate inspiration.

To three of these characteristics, lyrism, the epic spirit, and the nationalism of the sixteenth century, Camões gave expression in so supreme a degree that his work became the faithful mirror of the Portuguese genius. It is this lyric work that I wish to discuss at present, leaving for later consideration the analysis of his epic and setting aside his drama as being less representative. When Camões began to write poetry the classical Renaissance in Portugal was in full swing and a distinguished group of poets already existed: Sá de Miranda, the reformer; Gil Vicente, inspired lyrist and charming and original playwright; Bernardim Ribeiro, Christovam Falcão, Antonio Ferreira, Diego Bernardes, Andrade Caminha, Frei Agostinho da Cruz.

To Sá de Miranda after his return from Italy was due a reform of far-reaching import. He it was who first attempted certain new forms of poetry: the sonnet and Petrarchan canzone, the terza rima of Dante, the ottava rima of Politian, Boccaccio and Ariosto, the eclogues and internal rhyme of Sannazzaro and the iambic hendecasyllable. Sá de Miranda was a poet of slight genius but as a forerunner his name will always be held in memory. He fixed the form of the sonnet as it remains with us to-day, the Italian form: two quatrains and two tiercets of ten syllables, with or without a short appendix in another metre and with the rhymes ABBA ABBA CCD EDE or ABBA ABBA CDE CDE or ABAB ABAB CDC DCD. This Italian sonnet differs markedly from the English sonnet. It was not till the nineteenth century that Elizabeth Barrett Browning

imitated it as a novelty from Camões. In Italy Petrarch had not only adopted its Sicilian form but had filled it with a new literary ideal. With the Petrarchan sonnet love entered literature not as an accessory or in a materialistic sense, as in our medieval songbooks, but as the supreme expression of all the delicate aspirations of the human soul, as an inner life, a sacrifice of all thought and feeling to an ideal of perfect beauty, and as an ideal unattainable. Freeing it from the confused multitude of myths, allegories, metaphysical conceptions and material likenesses that Dante and medieval scholasticism had heaped upon it, Petrarch purified and revealed love. Love in this wider significance is a whole vast world of new emotions, a fruitful harvest of new themes for artistic imagination and subjective thought: this love is indeed a complete moral concept, an interpretation of life, to which it gave a reason and an object: one lived only because one loved and in order to love, since it was love, with its inexhaustible wealth, that revealed to souls their internal life and thrilled them. This high ideal was no longer that realized in the Beatrice of Dante, the symbol of beauty and perfection, voice and conscience of the universe and path to Heaven, the aesthetic presentation of the logical construction of Scholasticism, that subtly transcendent Beatrice shown to us less in the words of the poet than in his imagination straining to complete her, that light of the intellect beyond constraint. The Laura of Petrarch is a more human ideal, a beautiful woman ardently loved, a shape of loveliness irradiating loveliness, communicating with and softening Nature in sympathy and the desire of the harmony of loveliness. It even has a form, white as snow, with clear chaste eyes, golden hair, gentle speech, a voice musically harmonious, slow movements gently graceful. To love this form, to implore it fervently for the favour of a smile, the grace of a single word of good-will, to reproduce this form in harmonious verses and the expressive language of poetry, to despair of success and yet begin again in a continual effort and defeat of art, will be the deliberate object of the poets of the sixteenth century. Not a shadow of desire appears in their transports of love; upon that the sixteenth century poets closed the doors of their poetry and their imagination, filled with Platonic idealism, which in love saw one of those pure ideas with which the Attic philosopher wove and peopled the world, making its essence to consist in them.

The love of Petrarch and of those who followed him in composing sonnets is also a pure idea which of its own accord acts upon matter, bodies and Nature and leads onward to the supreme good. Wide horizons opened before the imagination of the poets: to reproduce the loved object, the form continually copied in partial sketches of the great ideal pictured in each one's soul; to examine the moments of the heart, probe all the windings of one's soul and throw into the relief of art and poetical expression all the discoveries of this careful and incessant introspection; to delight in the suffering of love and express the contradictions of that delight; in the midst of endless attempts to give shape to the ideal form, to explain in what consists its desired beauty, and to set it in suitable scenery, soft and smiling—these were themes of an infinite variety.

Through the Petrarchan sonnet love enters our literature, as the first step in the hierarchy of literary themes, and that disposition of spirit is revealed which, extremely artistic and supremely fruitful for good and beauty, is often the spirit of love but is always the spirit of suffering. Through suffering life is felt, since it is the surest point of reference and correspondence; through it is acquired that power of sympathy, of psychological insight, of disillusion, of sensitiveness and goodness; and through it is learnt a true sense of worldly values. Abundant poetic inspiration was imported into our literature by the Petrarchan sonnet, which, at the same time as it altered aesthetic ideas, transformed its essence. The apprenticeship of our sixteenth century poets will be long and laborious, and more than once frustrated by the defects inherent in the severity of the structure of the sonnet: the compression of lyric inspiration within a scanty plot of ground, interrupting the flow of feeling or the sequence of thought and thus mutilating their expression, or the danger of falling, by virtue of the artificial character imprinted on the sonnet by its very brevity, into insignificance or complicated preciosity. This last defect will make the sonnet later a favourite prev of Gongorism.

This rich poetic material was developed since Sá de Miranda by many poets in constant efforts as though in search of perfect. unattained expression. Only the poetical temperament of Camões gave it full realization and in its proper form, the sonnet, Camões took the whole cycle of poetical themes then floating in the air, turning them this way and that in order to extract from them whatever they could vield to his genius. This material was the ideal of the transcendent self-sacrifice of love, confessed in the complex and contradictory sentiments contained in that mystic adoration, or explained by the divine beauty of the countenance that received it: on the one hand the subtle psychology of the passion of love, on the other the reflection of the beauty that inspires it. Between these two poles a wide, nay infinite, space lay open to the individual imagination of the soul, to reach an expression at once intelligible and beautiful of these new worlds of feeling and to vary the process of producing the full import of the beauty to be expressed, to extract the personal element of the emotions of life, transforming into judgment, sentiments and ideas what for others was an ordinary fact of every day life-such was the illimitable horizon presented to the poetical imagination of a Camões. No one better than he knew how to traverse this horizon step by step. How did he pass from being an imitator of the Petrarchan sonnet into becoming a creator of the sonnet of Camões? In the first place by mastering completely the external form of the sonnet, both in its structural phrase moulded obedient to his purpose and in the metre which he used with extreme correctness and fluency, apart from a few unavoidable slips; in this way Camões attained the first degree of beauty, that which results from harmony and loftiness, well-balanced conciseness, lucidity of language—in a word beauty of form as a suitable instrument of expression. In the second place, by making a new and very personal use of the matter presented to Gifted with an exceptional power of introspection and carrying within him permanently a confused world of sentiments and ideas, Camões knew how to disentangle the raveled skein of his internal world, to unwind it and give a literary expression to each part, each thread, to translate into poetic language that vast world of psychic phenomena which philosophers were only beginning laboriously to analyse and distinguish in their inexperienced terminology. But as he was a poet, not a philosopher-as his vocation was literary art, not general psychology—he gives us of this tossing sea of his soul only the personal movements peculiarly his own, whereas the thinkers analysed the human soul generally. Camões condenses his material to such a degree that he renders his sonnet artificial. almost always subordinating it to a subtle final conclusion of refined thought which indicates that this is the object of the sonnet, all that precedes being a preparation for this thought. To the lucidity, precision and harmony of form corresponded a clarity, preciseness and refinement of idea, that refined elegance of thought which Camões was one of the first to present to the world. In the third place the understanding of love as it was fashionable in the literary world of the time, a delicious suffering, a voluntary seeking of sorrow, to lament and delight in it, was expressed poetically by Camões by paradoxes in which he often dipped his pen. This poetical method, at once so simple and so beautiful, and at the same time so apparently easy to discover. had not occurred to the sixteenth century poets, but Camões paints in paradoxes the paradox of love. Fourthly, to that common theme, the portrait of the supremely beautiful woman, Camões brings new elements, by varying the colours of the picture, sometimes in Nature's tints, at others with the effects born of contemplation in his own soul, at others again by the divine expressions emanating from the features of the object of his love. These portraits, which are completely ideal because they are composed of completely ideal elements, represent undoubtedly the acme of Camões's lyrical inspiration, for at these moments he dwells free in a transcendent world of idealism. where not even colour finds a place. And to express this quintessence of the abstract, rendering it not only intelligible in philosophic terms but beautiful, of a deep and intense emotion, and without ceasing to dwell in that region of light to give us wings to ascend thither—that is genius. Therefore the portraits framed in Camões's sonnets are no longer sketches, careful studies for a dream of art, they are all perfect ideals, forming a gallery of masterpieces, as later the Madonnas of Murillo; and in each of them the poet varies his art.

Through Camões and Anthero de Quental the Portuguese language is inseparably connected with the evolution of the sonnet, that cosmopolitan form which was twice affected by our language at the hands of genius. Setting aside some laudatory sonnets and those which concern public events and are contrary to the essential character of the sonnet, and others of a religious character which are not very well suited to the artistic temperament of the poet, the sonnets of Camões form a veritable encyclopedia of love, a poem which has unity, with its plot and intense action, the drama of a soul that had intensely loved and suffered and in turning its suffering into poetry found its own happiness and drew from the process certain thoughts and edifying moral conclusions. These are the chief characteristics of the poetic world contained in the sonnets. It may be well to give a few examples to illustrate what we have said. The following sonnets show Camões using paradox as a magic oar guiding him to safety in the sea of passion beaten upon by contending winds in the raging hurricane of the illogical, the contradictory, the irrational, the unforeseen:

"Tanto do meu estado. . . ."

"So shifting and inconstant is my state
That cold yet all afire my spirit lies,
Of tears and laughter both the unwitting prize;
I nothing have yet all things contemplate,
Confusion doth on all my senses wait,
Fire in my heart, a river in my eyes;
Hope speaks to me, anon despair replies,
And I am happy yet disconsolate.
I stand on Earth, yet to the sky take flight,
A single hour a thousand years doth seem
And a thousand years not even a single hour.
If any ask the reason of my plight,
I say I know not but, fair lady, deem
That 'tis because my eyes have felt thy power."

The final thought of this sonnet lacks intensity and condensation, which are shown better in those in which the poet defines the reason of his life in death when he gives himself up to the happiness of loving his dear enemy and repents of the time when he was free:

"Amor é um fogo. . . ."

"Love is a fire that burns yet burns unseen,
A wound that injures, yet without distress,
A happiness that is not happiness,
Sorrow that is no sorrow yet is keen;
'Tis rather not to love than love, I ween;
To wander among men companionless,
To deem no blessing that which still doth bless
And count that gain which but our loss hath been.
Love is a voluntary imprisonment,
Service to one who is not victor rendered,
Loyalty to one upon our death intent.
Yet since love to itself hath not surrendered,
How can its favour breed in men content,
Or in their hearts find service freely tendered?"

Let us see how Camões develops the theme barely sketched by Så de Miranda in his best sonnet, the contrast between changing seasons of Nature, growing old to grow young again, and the changes in the life of man:

"Mudam-se os tempos. . . ."

"The seasons change and change continually Man's being and affections in fresh growth, Only of change on Earth there is no sloth, Since all things shift to a new quality. Ever new scenes and issues must we see Defrauding hope and expectation both, And Memory but the past sorrow know'th, Past happiness is present misery. Time decks the Earth now with a cloak of green That was arrayed in the snow's mantle cold, And all my song is turned to sorrow keen. And through these changes, as each day is told, Another change more fearful still is seen: No longer changeth that which changed of old."

The Platonic conception of love Camões expressed in the following sonnet, about which still linger traces of the language of philosophy:

"Transforma-se o amador. . . ."

"A part of that he loves becomes the lover
By virtue of imagination's fire,
So have I nothing left for my desire
Since that I sought within me I discover.
If my soul thus transformed therein doth hover
To what beyond it can the sense aspire?
It need but into its own self retire,
Since with that soul so fair the strife is over.
But this chaste lovely goddess thus inwrought,
Closely as in a sentient being sense,
Becomes within my soul a second soul,
And lives as an idea within my thought;
But living love that is my pure essence
Seeks form in simple matter to control."

This identification of the subject and object and the living presentation of an abstract doctrine in beautiful poetic thought reveal the multiplicity of the gifts of Camões's imagination, since in the sixteenth century with perfect ease and success he was giving us examples of that form of the sonnet which Anthero de Quental was to immortalize at the end of the nineteenth century. Let us now examine a few portraits of his gallery and point out in each case the material employed to draw in due perspective the primary cause of all his longing, the seed which planted in his soul a fruitful crop of dreams, aspirations, feelings and ideas, that cause beyond control.

"That some days since within my soul hath set I know not what and born I know not where: I know not how it comes nor why the pain."

First the concrete, pictorial beauty of a face drawn with the hues and charms of Nature flowering in Springtime:

"Está-se a Primavera. . . ." 1
"A copy of the Spring is in thy face,
Wherein nobility doth match delight,
In thy fair cheeks and mouth and brow snow-white
Is lilies', roses' and carnations' trace.

¹ Cf. Shakespeare's sonnets "Shall I compare thee to a summer's day . . ." or "From you have I been absent in the Spring. . . ."

Nature need but thy lovely hues enlace
Its beauty to display in its full might,
The woods, hills, streams and meadows at thy sight,
O lady, are enamoured of such grace.
But if these flowers' fruit thou wilt not yield
To him who still in thy true service strove
Then will these eyes lose all their wizardry,
For little boots it, lady, that thy field
Should be so richly sown with flowers of love
If but of thorns is thy fertility."

In the following sonnet it is only by abstract gesture and expression that he reconstructs the ideal beauty of his muse:

"Um mover de olhos. . . ."
"Eyes that so softly and so gently glance
They know not why, an honest laughter welling
Almost unwillingly, looks humbly telling
Of joy, as though in fear of fresh mischance;
A blushing boldness without dalliance,
A grave repose, vain arrogance repelling,
A simple goodness, the soul's inmost dwelling
Seen in the clear, untroubled countenance;
A timid daring, gentleness withal,
Fear innocent of guilt, a look serene,
A long-endured and patient suffering:
Such was the loveliness celestial
Of this my Circe fair, whose poison keen
Had strength my thought within her power to bring."

And in the following, which everyone knows by heart, we have the best instance of Camões's intense power of expression in rendering the vehement aspiration of passionate longing. In this sonnet, spoilt only by being too well known, there is the reverence and piety of a prayer which seems to restrain and temper the passionate despair of a great sorrow without consolation that is ready to break through it. A stormy sea is divined beneath that appearance of restraint:

"Alma minha gentil. . . ."

"Fair spirit in untimely banishment
Gone from me leaving this sad life of woe,
Rest now in heaven may'st thou ever know

While upon earth in grief my life is spent!
If in the thoughts of those above is blent
A recollection of this life below,
May'st thou be mindful of that love's pure glow
That in my eyes for thee was evident!
And if the sense of my abiding grief
May merit any recompense from thee—
My sorrow for thy loss without relief—
Then pray to God that, as His swift decree
From my eyes bore thee after life so brief
Even so now to thy sight it carry me!"

In the little that this sonnet asks, merely a remembrance of former love if Heaven allows, is contained beneath an ironic bitterness the greatest intensity of feeling, in contrast to the state of extreme grief which the rest of the sonnet reveals.

In the eclogue Camões used the form already established, adding merely—no mean addition—his poetic inspiration. The fifteenth century poets made of the ecloque a lyric poem and a form of autobiography: Camões's bucolic poetry is all lyrical. containing a few piscatorial eclogues. Fervent loves, sad partings, the change of inconstancy, indifference, disdain and the longing lamentations of those who have parted for ever constitute the material of Camões's eclogues. Only, the wealth of his imagination and his love of Nature, as it were, renew these themes, giving them a truer and more living expression, a greater sensibility: their form is transparent, quickly showing the contents, without the artificial subtleties and pointed cleverness which it was customary for poets to bestow on shepherds since the Diana had made of them a kind of intellectual sophists. The most beautiful of all is the fifth, in which a single shepherd speaks: he protests his love strong and constant even beyond death despite the cold indifference of its object. The wealth of imagery and the series of proofs of this love which made everything gay or sad, a magnificent instance of that other love divine in which all Nature moves and has its being, well display the power of Camões's genius in treating a theme which in another poet's hands would become monotonous, through the necessity of having to go outside his own heart and imagination to seek material for this long poem—to literary reminiscences, mythological allusions, common and insignificant expressions. In bucolic poetry Camões was above all a lyric poet. He avoided the two opposite pitfalls of pastoral poetry—to make the rude, coarse, ignorant shepherds intellectual, or, aware of this mistake, to fall into their rude coarseness; he did not even avoid them consciously, but sailed on like a skilled and fortunate mariner, between Scylla and Charybdis without suspecting it, since subjective lyric poetry was his aim, not genre pictures.

The same world of sentiments which Camões framed in his sonnets furnished the matter for his songs (Canções), elegies, sextines and odes; but here the poet's feelings, unchecked by

the severe limits of the sonnet, run freely,

"Giving the rein freely to all my care."

In the great riches of his soul the poet finds the ever varied subjects of his poems, for his sensibility ever experiences the oldest emotions as something new and his imagination never wearies of finding in Nature the most delicate metaphors and in his own world of feeling the most subtle expressions to render the quintessence of his soul and the extreme passion of one who has made a cult of love and of woman's beauty a divinity. one for whom constant idealization and sentiment was a spiritual necessity and who formed of the torrent of his heart's feelings a kind of philosophy and by these sentiments, all woven of personal emotions, explains life and the world. In order to translate this artistic thought it is necessary to create a suitable language, which shall combine harmony with depth and intensity and shall not be afraid of the illogical but rather adapt itself to the logical symmetry and extreme consequences of that most ideal architecture. And the result will be not a building to be judged by the world's laws nor by the general laws of logic, but to be reverenced as the reconstruction of a soul's true sense of beauty. It is in this way that Camões's lyric poems grow. Not like the gloomy knights of the ideal, who make of their dream their life's sole reality and in comical disillusion realize the conflict between their fancy and real life, but by completely reconciling the sense of reality with its reflection in his mind the poet gives us in his lyrism the ideal truths of one who with a kind of second sight sees life's most distant perspectives and where others held back went forward on the wings of dream. As the scholastic philosopher with closed eyes constructs his system exclusively of the spiritual material of his thought, advancing fearlessly from deduction to deduction, so the poet descends the winding way that leads him down to the depths of his soul. Lyrical, subjective, curious about themselves, had been the other sixteenth century poets; all had seized eagerly upon the new poetic forms, the aesthetic ideas in vogue, on the pickaxe of analysis and the plumb-line of introspection. as miners eager to penetrate into the far recesses of the human soul. But their souls were all surface or at most subsoil. Camões alone had hidden depths within him, secret recesses, confused meanderings; and into this labyrinth he descended boldly and was able to examine himself, to feel the beatings of his heart and explore leisurely in every direction this new world of liberty and fullness. This discovery of a man's own soul by the path of suffering is in our literature a moment of supreme genius, for now for the first time it is made clear that in order to have literary genius it is necessary to have a personality of one's own, which is indeed its first creation. The suffering of love, if limited because of its very extremes, if passionate because pain only is its reward, occurs at every turn in his lyrics as an ever living theme which all their beauty cannot completely contain. And it is evident that this state of permanent tension of his soul was that which Camões found most difficult to express. for he constantly returns to it and when he expresses it sometimes advances to its ultimate consequences, sometimes pauses to limit and explain:

"Formosa e gentil. . . ."

"Fair and most gracious lady, when I see
Thy brow of gold and snow, and loveliest
Thy beauteous mouth that flashes honest laughter,
Thy neck of crystal wrought and thy white breast,
I only ask to see, ask nothing after,
But ever to behold such witchery
And prove myself to be
Thine in God's eyes and man's impassioned
By all the tears I shed,

Till half in love I grow With my own self, that I should love thee so. Yea, learn to love myself so fervently That I am jealous of myself for thee. And if perchance through my own spirit's weakness I live in discontent, still suffering That sorrow sweet my heart may not explain. I from myself escape and swiftly bring Myself to sight of thee: in happy meekness My heart but laughs then at its former pain. Of whom should I complain. Since thy life-giving glance doth thus atone For all my woe and grief. Save of myself alone, Unworthy of this boon beyond belief? Yet even this fault of mine shall be no fault, So high doth love of thee my thought exalt."

The logical conceptions of the world of his love penetrate one another, meet and mount and repel one another and then lie side by side in an unwearying and painful effort to build up in phrases born of feeling those changeless concepts and crystallized thoughts which had introduced into the world of feelings and ideas the same gaps of space that separate material objects; to express in common language the most individual thoughts of his soul.

"And thus I ever shun myself and seek,"

in that disconcerting confusion caused by carrying within himself a boiling ocean of ideals, from the depths of which arise loud aspirations and tendencies which the poet cannot adequately express. "Ah if," he says, "this thought so soft and gentle could find a voice to issue from my soul"; and as he listens to the voices clamouring within him the poet clearly feels his illogical, exceptional position, and begs that the effects which he describes should not be judged by common human standards: "My song, if he who reads thee is unwilling to believe what thou sayest of those fair eyes, because it is hidden from him, tell him that human senses cannot be judges of the divine, but only a thought which supplies understanding's faith."

When he is describing Nature, he likewise mingles his own feelings with its bues, thus giving the scene a subjective character, a tone of melancholic but profound serenity.

For his slighter lyrics in octosyllabic metre he reserved the artificial, courtly, airy elegance, the pleasant, graceful or ironic remarks of daily speech. These poems differ from the others in that their beauty consists in their facility and slight content; whereas the graver lyrics, as the canções and sonnets, belong to that kind of art which loses nothing by repetition, since as a noble music slowly gives up the succession of its harmonies, so such art gradually reveals the hidden world of its emotions.

The soul which experienced these sentiments was complex and original, and its poetical expression likewise, and for this reason only assiduous study can discover to us a world so vast. And yet its form is of a surprising simplicity, sometimes almost common; but inasmuch as it clothes conceptions so exquisite and translates attitudes of the soul so personal and so new, it becomes necessary, in order to pass beyond its simple clothing and enjoy its inner beauty, to possess in aesthetic appreciation a little of that ultra-sensitive spiritual refinement which Camões possessed in artistic production. Camões did not repeat himself—rather he left much unsaid, as he himself declares at the end of that beautiful autobiographical canção:

"Não mais canção, não mais. . . ."
"No more, my song, no more, for I could still
Speak for a thousand years; and if perchance
They blame thee, finding thee both long and dull,
Tell them a little glass may not contain
The waters of the unfathomed Ocean."

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LA COMPENSACIÓN ENTRE VERSOS EN LA VERSIFICACIÓN ESPAÑOLA

T

N un artículo recientemente publicado en esta revista, La sinalefa entre versos en la versificación española,1 he demostrado que la sinalefa entre versos es un fenómeno muy bien conocido en la versificación española, comprobado con numerosos ejemplos desde principios del siglo XIV hasta el día de hoy. Es un fenómeno de capital importancia que hay que estudiar con esmero en cualquier estudio que se pretenda hacer sobre versificación española y sirve, entre otras cosas, para aclarar muchos problemas de métrica española que tienen que ver con los versos llamados irregulares. Muchos de éstos tienen de irregular sólo el que algunos no los saben leer con la regularidad rítmica en que han sido compuestos. Se ha indicado también que la sinalefa entre versos en la poesía española es una continuación del mismo fenómeno en la métrica latina que los latinos llamaban synapheia.2 Hemos visto que este fenómeno en la versificación española se halla generalmente entre versos largos que alternan con versos cortos, particularmente entre los octosílabos y los tetrasílabos, o versos de pie quebrado, con los cuales alternan en estrofas de diversas clases. Los ejemplos más numerosos, por consiguiente, hay que buscarlos en las coplas de pie quebrado. En estos versos el pie quebrado es, por decirlo así, el grupo rítmico mayor que parece determinar y establecer el verdadero ritmo del verso de la estrofa o estrofas. Se ha tratado de probar que esta agrupación de los grupos rítmicos de la copla de pie quebrado en grupos de tres o cuatro sílabas con acento en la tercera es en general el esquema rítmico que guiaba al poeta que componía esta clase de coplas,3 aunque naturalmente no se debe esperar que el poeta se ajuste rigurosamente a esta ley, pues el mismo ritmo exige algunas veces la

¹ The Romanic Review, vol. XVI, 1925, páginas 103-121.

² Ibid., página 105.

^{*} Ibid., página 106.

variación para la mayor perfección. Pero, sea como fuere, en las coplas de pie quebrado en que alternan los octosílabos con los tetrasílabos esta agrupación es casi definitiva. Y estudiando en estos versos el silabismo y el ritmo no se necesita mucha penetración para ver que en muchísimos casos no sólo el número exacto de las sílabas sino que también el ritmo del verso exige la sinalefa entre versos.⁴

Directamente relacionado con el problema de la sinalefa entre versos y debido a las mismas causas métricas hallamos otro problema de importancia para los estudios de versificación española, la compensación entre versos. De este problema vamos a tratar en las páginas que siguen. El estudio actual es, por consiguiente, una continuación del anterior.

De la misma manera que la sinalefa entre versos también la compensación entre versos es un fenómeno muy bien conocido en la versificación latina. Los latinos (y también los griegos) empleaban no solamente la compensación ordinaria de una sílaba que pasaba de un verso a otro, sino que dividían palabras de cuatro y más sílabas entre versos, fenomeno raro pero empleado por los mejores poetas.⁵ Esta división o compensación

 4 Hay una fuerte tendencia en estos grupos rítmicos hacia una acentuación trocaica, 1 – 3 –, y 1 – 3 – – 7 –, pero es difícil saber si en el octosílabo el trocaísmo se debe al pie quebrado que siempre lleva la acentuación en la tercera obligatoria o al trocaísmo natural y primitivo del octosílabo. Un breve estudio sobre este asunto me ha convencido en la creencia de que la acentuación de los octosílabos de la copla de pie quebrado no es más trocaica que la de los octosílabos ordinarios que se emplean solos. El trocaísmo es más pronunciado, por ejemplo, en los octosílabos puros de Góngora que en las coplas de pie quebrado del Marqués de Santillana.

⁸ Véase Luciani Muelleri, De Re Metrica, Petropoli et Lipsiae, 1894, páginas 356-360; Wilhelm Christ, Metrik der Grieschen und Römer, Leipzig, 1879, páginas 103-104; Lindsay, Early Latin Verse, Oxford, 1922, páginas 266-267; Louis Havet, Cours élémentaire de métrique grecque et latine, Paris, cinquième édition, páginas 60-61 y 173-175; F. Plessis, Métrique grecque et latine, Paris, 1889, páginas 26-28. Los mejores ejemplos se hallan en la obra de Lindsay y en la de Havet. Daremos aquí solo los siguientes de Horacio y Catulo:

Thracio bacchante magis sub interlunia vento. (Horacio, I, 25, 11-12.)

Grosphe, non gemnis neque purpura V₂nale neque auro. (*Ibid.*, II, 16, 7-8.)

Gallicum Rhenum horribilesque ultimosque Britannos. (Catulo, XI, 11-12.)

consciente que el poeta reconoce al escribir sus ritmos en renglones o versos la hallamos también en la versificación española, por ejemplo en los versos 76-77 de *la Vida retirada* de nuestro Luis de León:

> Y mientras miserable mente se están los otros abrasando en sed insaciable. . . .

Ésta es una distribución de sílabas, necesarias todas para el metro y para la rima. Pero la compensación ordinaria de una sílaba que pasa de un verso a otro inconscientemente y que no entra en la medida silábica no la encontramos separada de esta manera en las composiciones poéticas y para darnos cuenta de su existencia hay que estudiar con cuidado millares de versos, contar sus sílabas y determinar su acentuación fundamental.

La compensación entre versos en la poesía española, como la sinalefa entre versos, se ajusta al tipo latino indicado en nota 5 (compensación) y en página 105 de *La sinalefa entre versos*, es decir, la sílaba que sobra en la medida silábica se halla siempre al principio del verso y hay que enlazarla con la final del verso que precede. Cuando hay compensación se añade una sílaba más al verso que la recibe mientras que en el caso de la sinalefa la vocal (con su consonante final cuando ésta cierra la sílaba) pierde su individualidad silábica y hace sílaba con la vocal final del verso anterior. La sinalefa entre versos la hallamos en general en las ya conocidas coplas de pie quebrado en las cuales alternan octosílabos y tetrasílabos, pero también se halla entre

En Horacio encontramos la compensación no sólo entre el verso sáfico y el adónico sino que también entre dos sáficos:

Nec loquax olim neque grata, nunc Et Divitum mensis et amica templis. (III, 11, 56.)

Compárese con este procedimiento la compensación entre octosílabos españoles en Castillejo, sección IV de este opúsculo. Hay que observar, desde luego, que si bien la sinalefa latina entre versos o, sea la synapheia, y la sinalefa española entre versos son en realidad el mismo fenómeno, la distribución de sílabas de una misma palabra entre dos versos latinos, que por falta de mejor nombre llamamos también compensación, es un fenómeno muy diferente de la compensación entre versos de la poesía española. En el latín las sílabas que sobran al principio de un verso son absolutamente necesarias para el metro (cantidad silábica), mientras que en la compensación española entre versos la sílaba añadida no cuenta en la medida silábica. Véanse, sin embargo, los casos de verdadera compensación latina empleada también en la poesía española, sección VI de este artículo (Pombo y Villalpando).

versos de otras medidas silábicas, algunas veces hasta entre versos octosílabos, entre hexasílabos y tetrasílabos solos. La compensación en cambio no la hemos encontrado en tan variadas combinaciones métricas. Se halla, en general, sólo en las coplas o combinaciones métricas de pie quebrado en que alternan octosílabos y tetrasílabos, o entre tetrasílabos. En estas combinaciones métricas, sin embargo, la compensación es tan frecuente como la sinalefa. Los casos entre versos más largos son rarísimos. Pasemos ahora a la compensación entre versos en la poesía española teniendo en cuenta todas las observaciones que hemos hecho en sección IV de La sinalefa entre versos.

II

Los primeros ejemplos seguros de la compensación entre versos en la poesía española son del siglo XIV. Hay algunos en los Cantares de Juan Ruiz que no registramos ahora porque no queremos entrar en cuestiones de interpretación de textos, tan arduas como lo son las que suscita la interpretación crítica de los manuscritos de nuestro arcipreste. Hanssen, en sus estudios sobre los Cantares, ha tropezado algunas veces con dificultades métricas que desparecen en seguida si admitimos la sinalefa y la compensación entre versos, y en el caso de la sinalefa el mismo lo ha tenido que admitir.7 Los ejemplos que en seguida damos de la compensación entre versos para el siglo XIV son de la Doctrina de la Discricion de Pedro de Veragüe, manuscrito del Escorial IV.b. 21, ff. 88, 108, publicado por R. Foulché-Delbosc en la Revue hispanique, tomo XIV, páginas 565-597. No divido ahora los ejemplos en los tipos A y B que establecí para los ejemplos de la sinalefa entre versos porque no quiero insistir en una concordancia rítmica que, después de todo, no

⁶ La sinalefa entre versos, páginas 115-117.

⁷ Los metros de los cantares de Juan Ruiz, en Anales de la Universidad de Chile, tomo CIV, páginas 737-745, y tomo CX, páginas 161-220. El problema de la sinalefa y de la compensación entre versos, sin embargo, no es problema de sflabas más o menos, como cree Hanssen. Tampoco se trata de la supresión de la sflaba inicial ni en la sinalefa ni en la compensación. En los versos verdaderos nada se suprime ni se añade en realidad. En el verso de arte mayor no hay sflabas que faltan ni sflabas que sobran. El estudio definitivo de este verso hecho por Foulché-Delbosc (Revue hispanique, tomo IX, páginas 81-103) demuestra claramente que consiste en versos de dos grupos rítmicos mayores o dominantes, cada uno, \(^1_2 - _2^4\), a los cuales se ajusta el silabismo que es irregular sólo en apariencia.

creo que sea debida fundamentalmente a la presencia del tetrasílabo que alterna con el octosílabo, sino al carácter trocaico de los octosílabos españoles desde su origen. Sin embargo van marcadas como en nuestro trabajo anterior las sílabas séptima que siempre lleva el acento y la tercera cuando también lo lleva, determinando así la concordancia rítmica que ya ha sido establecida. Los números indican la estrofa, y damos solamente los versos que llevan la compensación.

Pedro de Veragüe, Doctrina de Discriçion: 8

	_	2	7
54	Que te tienes de velar		
	De los pecados.	3-	
59	Pon con Dios tu voluntad,	3	7_
	Es tá seguro.	3-	
61	Sy otro tiene buen cabdal	3	7_
	Pe nado muere.	3_	
69	De matrimonio mençion		7_
	De ues fazer.	3	
82	Que rrogar syn deuocion	3	7_
	Es obra vana.	3_	
84	De los que trahen por demas		7_
	La vestidura.	3_	
97	El caudal que sacaras	3	7_
	Se ra seguro.	3_	
98	De quien syenpre la bondad	3	7_
	Quie re seguir.	3	

⁸ Este importantísimo monumento poético del siglo XIV está compuesto enteramente en coplas de pie quebrado en las cuales alternan octosílabos y tetrasílabos. La versificación es casi absolutamente perfecta y son absolutamente seguros los ejemplos de compensación y sinalefa entre versos que en él se hallan. Consiste en 154 estrofas de tres versos largos y uno quebrado cada una, y de los versos largos 422 de los 462 son perfectos octosílabos, o sea el 91 por ciento. Merece esta composición poética un estudio aparte en cuanto a su versificación. Hallamos en ella no sólo la compensación entre versos sino que también la sinalefa.

• En casos como éstos hay que suponer, naturalmente, que la sílaba que lleva el acento, quié, có, lo pierde cuando es añadida a la sílaba acentuada y final del verso que precede. Este fenómeno nada tiene de particular y se encuentra en casi todos los poetas que emplean la compensación entre versos, hasta en el día de hoy, como por ejemplo en los versos de pie quebrado de Ricardo León. Sirva de ejemplo el siguiente

caso de este poeta que damos más adelante:

112	E puna por bien seruir	
	A grand señor.	3/
116	Por ello podras venir	7
	A grand dolor.	3
132	Respondio el sabidor:	37_
	Pa sar syn ellos.	3-
134	Non me acuerdo sy vos vy	37_
	Colmo vos llaman?	3_

III

Durante el siglo XV la compensación entre versos, como la sinalefa, es de uso frecuentísimo en las combinaciones métricas ya indicadas. Durante este siglo la copla española por excelencia en la poesía lírica es la copla de pie quebrado en la que alternan o se combinan de diversas maneras los versos octosílabos y los tetrasílabos. Siguen muchos ejemplos notables de los poetas más célebres que en esta centuria componían versos en coplas de pie quebrado.

	~	3 7
50	que es un puro padecer	
	~1	3
	pe nas divinas.	

Hay aquí tres grupos rítmicos mayores, cada uno de ellos dominado, en cuanto a su acentuación, por la tercera sílaba tónica,

que es un puro, padecer pe, nas divinas.

Y lo mismo ocurre en los dos casos arriba citados. En 98 la división es, por consiguiente,

De quien syénpre, la bondád quie, re seguir.

Y lo mismo puede suceder en casos de sinalefa entre versos, por ejemplo en el caso siguiente del Marqués de Santillana, *Proverbios*, que damos en *La sinalefa entre versos*, sección IV:

63 que del dar, lo más honesto
$$-\frac{3}{2}$$
 $-\frac{7}{2}$ es | brevedad. $-\frac{3}{2}$

Aquí la división en grupos rítmicos mayores es,

que del dár, lo más honésto es, brevedád.

9 See 9, page 310.

Marqués de Santillana, Proverbios: 10

ques	de Santinana, 1 100010103.		
2	si discreçion e saber		7_
	non ha perdido?	3_	
16	El comienço de salud	3	7_
	es el saber,	3	
	distinguir e conoscer	3	7_
	qual es virtud.	3	
	Quien comiença en juventud	3	7_
	a bien obrar,	3	
	señal es de non errar	3	7_
	en senetud.	3	
21	aborresce presuncion	3	7_
	ques adversaria	3-	
23	e non blasphemes del rey		7_
	en abscondido:	3_	
26	que propuesto todo amor	3	7_
	e sentimiento	3_	
27	Frondino por observar		7_
•	lo que ordeno,	3	
	prestamente se mato	3	7
	sin dilatar:	3	
	pues debemos nos forçar	3	7_
	a bien fazer,	3	
	si queremos reprehender	3	7_
	e castigar.	3	

Hay muchos más ejemplos en 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 38, 39, 41, 42, 43, 44, 56, 57, 59, 61, 62, 63, 69, 72, 73, 76, 77, 80, 87, 95, 96. Marqués de Santillana, *Bias contra Fortuna*:

9	Facil es de lo dezir.	37_
	E de fazer	3
18	Ques de Tyro e de Sydon	37_
	e Babilonia?	3_

¹⁰ Todos los textos que citamos de las obras del Marqués de Santillana, de Frey Iñigo de Mendoza y de Fernán Pérez de Guzmán son tomados de la Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, tomo 19: Cancionero Castellano del Siglo XV, ordenado por Foulché-Delbosc, tomo I, Madrid, 1912.

25	E non mas te seguiran	37_
	que yo querre;	3
26	yo non dubdo pueda ser	37
	por tales vias	3-

Hay muchos más ejemplos en 29, 30, 43, 81, 86, 89, 98, 105, 111, 135.

Frey Iñigo de Mendoza, Cancionero Castellano, ya citado, páginas 72-78:

73a	vna espada singular,	3	-7-
	de tal cortar,	3	
	y sangriento su color,	3	-7-
	por dar temor	3	
	mas con amor y pesar		-7-
	de degollar	3	
75a	Podemos muy bien prouar		-7-
	syn trabajar	3	
	la verdad desta razon,	3	7_
	con la mortal infeçion		7_
	que su inuençion	3	
75b	y mostrar a la humildad	3	7_
	hu manidad,	3	
	fue de tan justa ygualdad		7_
	que en la bondad	3	
	•		

En el último ejemplo hay compensación y también sinalefa entre versos, porque la sílaba que sobra y que se añade al verso anterior es que en. Hay más ejemplos como más adelante se verá.

Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, Cient trinadas a loor de la Virgen Maria, Cancionero Castellano, ya citado, páginas 698-702. La trinada consiste como lo indica el nombre en tres versos, dos tetrasílabos y un octosílabo. La división es un poco artificial, pues algunas veces dos o más van seguidas sin interrupción alguna excepto las pausas naturales que siguen a cada grupo rítmico mayor. Este grupo es, como ya queda indicado, un grupo de tres o cuatro sílabas con la tercera acentuada. En las

trinadas que nos ocupan, sin embargo parece que en algunos casos el poeta se olvidaba del grupo indicado y pensaba sólo en el grupo octosilábico, porque en algunos de los versos de su composición la compensación no es natural a no ser que haya un cambio violento de acento, y hay que leer los dos versitos cortos juntos como si los dos hiciesen un octosílabo. Esto nos indica claramente que el ritmo en la poesía española no es una cosa rígida que tiene que seguir siempre leyes fijas e inalterables, sino que, a veces, para mayor perfección se desvía de lo regular para formar una agrupación de sonidos solamente semejante a la regular. Siguen los ejemplos de compensación entre versos en las trinadas de Fernán Pérez de Guzmán. Después hablaremos de los tetrasílabos que se unen de a dos para formar octosílabos.

El tipo métrico de la trinada es el siguiente, estrofa número

Non se lee $-\frac{3}{3} - \frac{3}{3}$ nin se cree $-\frac{3}{3} - \frac{3}{3} - \frac{7}{3} -$

Todos los casos de compensación entre versos de esta composición se hallan entre los tetrasílabos.

Ejemplos de compensación:

19	quel favor	3_
	del su valor	3
41	Si salud,	3_
	gra cia e virtud	3
42	gran onor,	3 _
	fa ma e valor,	3
51	Deuocion	3-
	e contricion	3
55	do la flor	3-
	del nuestro amor	3
57	non vere	3-
	nin fallare	3

Hay muchos más ejemplos en 64, 68, 70, 71, 80, 89, 92, 95, 97. Las trinadas números 18, 23, 30, 32, 87, 94 y 96 no caben en el esquema métrico que creemos es el fundamental en esta composición, y en ellas hay que admitir que se trata, al parecer, de una variación rítmica que resulta en perder la agrupación fundamental en grupos rítmicos de tres o cuatro sílabas con la tercera acentuada y ajustarse solamente a los grupos mayores de ocho sílabas con la séptima acentuada, el octosílabo ordinario español con su variada acentuación interior y variado ritmo. Así resulta que número 18, por ejemplo, debe leerse como si consistiese en dos versos octosilábicos,

Loemos, glorifiquemos $-\frac{2}{3} - -\frac{7}{7} - \frac{3}{7} - \frac{7}{7} - \frac{3}{7} - \frac{7}{7} - \frac{3}{7} - \frac{7}{7} - \frac{3}{7} - \frac{7}{7} - \frac{7}{7} - \frac{3}{7} -$

y de la misma manera hay que leer tal vez número 23 y los demás.

prosando, metrificando, $-\frac{2}{2} - - -\frac{7}{7} -$ ditando, versificando $-\frac{2}{7} - - \frac{7}{7} -$

El verdadero poeta compone versos que son agradables al oído y pasa fácilmente de un grupo rítmico a otro sin darse cuenta de que ha habido una pequeña variación, pero su ritmo se ajusta inconscientemente a las leves generales del ritmo que practica y emplea al componer sus versos. Cuando el grupo tetrasilábico es considerado como el grupo rítmico mayor, a él se ajusta la medida silábica, ora con sinalefa ora con compensación entre versos, pero a veces la acentuación de las palabras que entran en el verso no se ajusta fácilmente al ritmo del tetrasílabo y los dos tetrasílabos se unen para formar un octosílabo igual o semejante en su acentuación al octosílabo que les acompaña. No es necesario, por consiguiente, para explicar el ritmo de estos versos, al parecer irregulares, acudir a la llamada ley de Mussafia, que poco o nada explica, como hace Hanssen, o poner punto final a todo declarando que no hay versos tetrasilábicos en español como cree Robles Dégano.11

¹¹ Un himno de Juan Ruiz, Anales de la Universidad de Chile, tomo CIV, páginas 743-744. Hanssen confunde los verdaderos casos de compensación con aquellos donde los dos versos se unen para formar un octosílabo, como queda ya indicado. Robles Dégano en su obra Ortología clásica de la lengua castellana, Madrid, 1905, páginas 116-119, no admite la existencia de versos tetrasilábicos y en todos los casos como los de las trinadas donde hay dos tetrasílabos seguidos cree que deben leerse siempre como un octosílabo. Pero la compensación y la sinalefa entre versos se hallan también entre octosílabos. ¿Tampoco hay octosílabos en español?

Alfonso Alvarez de Villasandino: 12

En Villasandino encontramos combinaciones métricas parecidas a las que emplea Fernán Pérez de Guzmán en sus *Cient trinadas*. En páginas 364-366 las coplas son de doce versos, o sea de cuatro trinadas a la manera de Pérez de Guzmán cada una. En éstas la compensación se halla también solamente entre los tetrasílabos. Siguen algunos ejemplos:

364b	De Milan	3_
	con grant afan	3
	Viene agora Sancho el page,	37-
	balandran	3_
	de camoçan	3
	non sabemos sy lo trage:	37
	como sage	3_
	al gunt mensaje	3_
	traera del Taborlan;	37_
	Los que van	3-
	syn capitan,	3
	sy non lieuan grant fardaje,	37_
	penaran	3-
	pe ro sabran	3
	que quiere dezir potage:	
365a	los que estan	3-
	con sant Julan	3
	e buscan otro afforrage,	
	andaran	3_
	con el çatan	3
	en baldio romerage,	37_

Hay más ejemplos de compensación entre versos tetrasilábicos, y hay también muchos de sinalefa.

En página 434 hay una composición de Villasandino de estrofas de octosílabos y tetrasílabos combinados así: cuatro octosílabos, dos tetrasílabos, un octosílabo, tres tetrasílabos, y por fin un octosílabo. La compensación y la sinalefa se hallan

 $^{^{12}}$ Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, tomo 22: Cancionero Castellano del Siglo XV, ordenado por Foulché-Delbosc, tomo II, Madrid, 1915.

solamente entre los tetrasílabos. Hay que observar que en estrofas como éstas siempre queda un tetrasílabo impar, de manera que es imposible pensar en que dos tetrasílabos puedan siempre recitarse como un octosílabo, pues aquí terminaríamos la copla siempre con octosílabo y medio. Existe por consiguiente el verso tetrasílábico, aunque en algunos casos, cuando los tetrasílabos van pareados y seguidos, pueden combinarse en grupos mayores octosilábicos como ya queda indicado.

Los ejemplos de la compensación entre versos, como los de la sinalefa, son numerosísimos en el siglo XV. Pondremos fin a los muchos ejemplos que hemos dado y los que todavía podríamos dar para esta centuria con algunos de las famosas coplas de Jorge Manrique (*Cancionero Castellano*, ya citado, tomo II,

páginas 228-234):

2	pues que todo ha de passar	3	7_
	por tal manera.	3-	
3	que van a dar en la mar		_ 7 _
	que es el morir:	3	
	alli van los señorios	3	$-\frac{7}{}$
	derechos a se acabar		_ 7 _
	y consumir;	3	
6	si bien vsassemos del		-7-
	como deuemos,	3-	

En número 3 tenemos otro ejemplo de compensación y sinalefa entre versos a la vez.

9	Las mañas y ligereza	7
	y la fuerza corporal	37
	de jouentud,	3
	todo se torna graueza	
	quando llega el arraual	37_
	de senectud.	3

Hay muchísimos ejemplos más en 16, 25, 27, 28, 35, 39. Casos como los siguientes, que también se hallan en otros poetas, se pueden leer con sinalefa, pero yo creo que es preferible leerlos con compensación porque es más agradable para el ritmo leer la sílaba separada y con hiato:

31	Estas sus viejas estorias,		7-
	que con su braço pinto		7-
	en jouentud,	3	
	con otras nueuas victorias	_2	-7-
	agora las renouo	_ 2	7_
	en senectud.	3	

IV

Entrado el siglo XVI la compensación entre versos, como la sinalefa, sigue empleándose por los poetas, pero con menos frecuencia. En las composiciones líricas todavía hay muchos ejemplos. Problema de capital interés es tratar de descubrir si algunos poetas la empleaban libremente al lado de la sinalefa y otros la rechazaban. Nuestros estudios actuales no nos inducen a llegar a conclusiones definitivas sobre este asunto, pero sí podemos decir que en algunos poetas parece haber aversión a su empleo. Los autores dramáticos de fines del siglo XV y principios del XVI todavía hacían uso de ambos fenómenos en su versificación, si bien hay una notabilísima diferencia entre ellos. Algunos emplean la sinalefa pero no la compensación mientras que otros emplean los dos fenómenos sin restricción alguna. 13

Siguen los ejemplos de compensación entre versos en el

¹⁸ Hay menos aversión a la sinalefa que a la compensación entre versos. A fines del siglo XV y a principios del XVI abundan las coplas de pie quebrado en que alternan octosílabos y tetrasílabos en los poetas dramáticos, pero no todos los poetas admiten libremente sinalefa y compensación entre versos. Gil Vicente admite ambos fenómenos sin restricción alguna, ya sea en castellano o en portugués. Torres Naharro emplea algunas veces la sinalefa entre versos, pero no emplea, al parecer, la compensación. Yo por lo menos no he encontrado ningún ejemplo en sus obras dramáticas. Idéntico proceder encontramos en Juan del Encina. En La sinalefa entre versos hemos dado muchos ejemplos de sinalefa entre versos en Juan del Encina. Ejemplos de compensación no los hemos hallado. Véase nota 31. En Sánchez de Badajoz hay también sinalefas entre versos, pero en sus obras dramáticas he encontrado sólo un caso de compensación. Hay algunos en sus composiciones líricas. Al contrario, en Lucas Fernández, el salmantino, y en Juan de Timoneda, la sinalefa y la compensación entre versos se usan sin restricción alguna, como más adelante veremos.

siglo XVI. Damos primero los de Lucas Fernández por ser los primeros y últimos que se encuantran en grande abundancia (al lado de los casos de sinalefa entre versos) en un autor dramático:

Lucas Fernández, Farsas y Églogas. Los números indican las páginas: 14

51	iAy de mí! y a dónde iré?	37_
	Do buscaré?	3
52	De linda sangre y facion	
	Y condicion.	3
56	En ella se a si matar.	
	De beis dejar	3
57	Procurá de lo encantar	37_
	O en comendar,	3
59	No me, no me desdeñeis.	37_
	Por qué lo haceis?	3
61	Yo por vos sí, en buena fe.	37_
	Yaun os diré	3
66	Ay vereis cómo os vais	37_
	Y me dejais	3

Hay muchos más ejemplos en 68, 70, 73, 74, 77, 78, 86, 93, 96, 97, 99, 103, 105, 106, 113, 119, 121, 123, 125, 131. En Lucas Fernández hay también numerosísimos casos de sinalefa entre versos en 52, 53, 55, 56, 59, 61, 62, 64, 65, 66, 67, 74, 75, 76, 86, etc., etc., que deben añadirse a los del siglo XVI que damos en La sinalefa entre versos, sección V. Se encuentran casi a cada página.

Juan de Timoneda, Obras completas: 15

163	pues por ver si lleuo el son	37_
	qu' es menester,	3
164	Quién, señores, hoy me da	37_
	con solacion?	3

¹⁴ Edición de la Real Academia Española, Madrid, 1867.

¹⁵ Obras completas de Juan de Timoneda, publicadas por la Sociedad de Bibliófilos Valencianos, con un estudio de D. M. Menéndez y Pelayo, tomo I, Teatro Profano, Valencia, 1911.

	La sancta resurrection,		_7_
165	Pide quedo, baladron.	3	_ 7 _
	Al ça la boz.	3	
	O hideputa y qué coz	3	-7-
	mas de lleuar	3	
172	No te cures tú d' entrar	3	_7_
	en su quistion;	3	
173	cómo: que poder tenés	3	_ 7 _
	pa ra quitar	3	
175	que mas se ha de presumir	3	_7_
	y tener tiento,	3_	
181	Devotos christianos, quien		_ 7 _
	man da rezar	3	

Hay muchos más casos en 192, 194, 277, 282, 291, 292, 296, 298, 303, 306, 308, 323, 337, 338, 342, 349, etc., etc. Hay también en Timoneda muchos casos de sinalefa entre versos, aunque menos numerosos que la compensación, en 163, 187, 211, 275, 280, 285, 286, 293, 294, 297, 324, 325, 331, etc., etc., que deben añadirse a los ejemplos del siglo XVI y XVII citados en Sinalefa entre versos, sección V. Es curioso notar que en todos los poetas que emplean los dos fenómenos en su versificación la sinalefa entre versos es siempre más frecuente que la compensación, mientras que en Timoneda, al contrario, la compensación es mucho más frecuente. En las primeras 350 páginas del tomo primero de las Obras completas hemos contado treinta casos de compensación entre versos contra quince de sinalefa, una proporción de dos compensaciones contra una sinalefa.

Juan de Angulo, Las fiestas de Toledo (año 1555): 16

420	Y tambien inuoco a vos,	37_
-	madre de consolacion	7
	y soberana,	3_
	de quien el Hijo de Dios	7
	tomó forma de varon	37_
	en carne humana.	3_

¹⁸ Publicadas por Santiago Alvarez Gamero en la Revue hispanique, tomo XXXI, páginas 418–485.

421	que en este año nos dio Dios	3	- 7 -
	a los presentes:	3-	
425	sin podernos sojuzgar	3	_ 7 _
	nin gun contrario.	3-	
	tal defensa de su onor	3	7_
	y claridad,	3	
	tal saber para regir	3	7_
	y bien reynar,	3	
	Pues humildad y prudencia,		_ 7 _
	con otras virtudes mil,		_ 7 _
	no os an faltado,	3-	
	que a vuestra sacra excellencia		_7_
	como a reyna varonil	3	_ 7 _
	se a n allegado.	3-	
	que a vuestra sacra excellencia como a reyna varonil	 3 3	$-\frac{7}{7}$

Hay muchos más ejemplos de compensación entre versos y también de sinalefa en esta larguísima composición, compuesta en su mayor parte en coplas de pie quebrado. Los últimos dos que damos son de compensación y sinalefa a la vez.

Cristóbal de Castillejo, Sermón de Amores: 17

En esta composición de Castillejo hay un ejemplo de compensación entre octosílabos, el primero de los que siguen.¹⁸ Los números indican la página.

522 madre mia, a donde yré?	1 3 5 7
que mal vecino es el amor!	1 3 7
a donde yré?	1 _ 3
528 quando las han de besar,	
O amor mio, 19	3-

¹⁷ Publicado por R. Foulché-Delbosc en la Revue hispanique, tomo XXXVI, páginas 509-595. En B. A. E., vol. 32, Poetas líricos de los siglos XVI y XVII (129a, 134a, 146b, 169a, 169b), hay más ejemplos de Castillejo.

¹⁸ Hay también en el Sermón de Amores un caso muy singular de sinalefa entre octosílabos, casos que son rarísimos, como ya queda indicado en nuestro artículo La sinalefa entre versos. Lo damos en seguida:

575 no se compra con no nada, $-\frac{3}{-3} - \frac{7}{-7}$ e | la ventaja se les deue $-\frac{3}{-7} - \frac{7}{-7}$

¹⁰ Puede leerse también con sinalefa de *o* y *a* en vez de compensación entre versos.

532	de nuestra sensualidad.	
	Ved si aprouecha	3_
560	mas a ninguna leal	
	se rá tu amor:	1 _ 3

En el Sermón de Amor nuevamente compuesto por el Menor Aunes, que sigue al de Castillejo en la publicación de Foulché-Delbosc, de fines del siglo XVI o principios del XVII, hay también algunos casos de compensación entre versos (y también de sinalefa).

Francisco de Castilla, Proverbios: 20

Sobre todo cree y ten	37	_
La fe cristiana.	3-	
Piensa cómo se humilló	37	_
Por ensalzarte;	3_	
Y habras de tal tentacion	7	_
Me recimiento.	3-	
Teme de la ocasional	7	-
Ad versa suerte;	3-	
Usa de la libertad	7	_
De tu albedrío.	3-	
	La fe cristiana. Piensa cómo se humilló Por ensalzarte; Y habras de tal tentacion Me recimiento. Teme de la ocasional Ad versa suerte; Usa de la libertad	La fe cristiana. - 3 - 7 Piensa cómo se humilló - 3 - 7 Por ensalzarte; - 3 - 7 Y habras de tal tentacion 7 Me recimiento. - 3 - 7 Teme de la ocasional 7 Ad versa suerte; - 3 - 7 Usa de la libertad 7

Juan de Linares, Flor de enamorados: 21

Cautivó mi libertad	37
u na doncella,	3-
pues le di mi voluntad	37
sin conocella.	3-
por quererme cautivar	$\frac{3}{2}$
de u na doncella,	3-
Contra mi descanso y fe	
se rebeló.	3

²⁰ Romancero y Cancionero sagrados, ed. Justo de Sancha, en B. A. E., vol. 35, Madrid, 1855, páginas 251–252.

²¹ La verdadera poes\(^1\)a castellana, etc., recogida y estudiada por D. Julio Cejador y Frauca, tomo IV, Madrid, 1923, p\(^2\)aginas 276-277.

V

Siguen ahora ejemplos de compensación entre versos en la poesía del siglo XVII. En este siglo la compensación entre versos, como la sinalefa, es mucho menos frecuente que en los dos siglos anteriores. Esto no es debido a una aversión de parte de los poetas a la compensación y a la sinalefa entre versos sino al hecho de que en este siglo las coplas de pie quebrado en las cuales alternan octosílabos y tetrasílabos ya no son tan populares. En la poesía dramática ya no se emplean, excepto en algunas farsas y autos de principios del siglo, y en todos los ramos de la poesía las combinaciones métricas en que alternan heptasílabos y endecasílabos van ganando la victoria sobre ellas. Este gradual abandono de la copla de pie quebrado por excelencia del siglo XV comienza, claro es, con Boscán y Garcilaso de la Vega en el siglo XVI, pero el triunfo definitivo de las formas con heptasílabos y endecasílabos no se realiza hasta el siglo XVII.

Ejemplos de compensación entre versos.

Luis de Góngora: 22

Letrilla número 39 en páginas 164-165 lleva siete veces el pie quebrado *i dicen bien* que hay que enlazar con el octosílabo agudo que precede por medio de compensación entre versos. Los dos primeros casos son:

que de todos dicen mal,	3	7_
i dicen bien.	3	
dicen: Den a donde den,	3	7_
i dicen bien.	3	

Francisco de Figueroa: 23

Poésies inédites de Góngora, publicadas por Hugo A. Rennert en la Revue hispanique, 1897, páginas 139-173.
 Poetas líricos de los siglos XVI y XVII, en B. A. E., vol. 42, Madrid, 1857.

	A vos, señor Juan de Dios,	7
*	Contra vos he menester,	37
	Por no ofenderos;	3_
	Y si me ayudáis, por Dios,	7
	Que milagros han de hacer	37-
	Vues tros dineros.	3_
	Os salis a predicar	37_
	A tales horas,	3-
	Para qué irles a llorar	37_
	Has ta las camas?	3_
94b	Tan de una vez reducir	7
	A la capacha!	3_
Jerónimo	de Cáncer y Velasco: 23	
429a	De una calle a buen compás,	3 7
4294	Hé tele aquí	3
	Que me salen a mi ver	3 7
	Seis ladrones de los mas	3 7
	Lin dos que vi.	3
429b	Por la segunda intencion,	7
4290	Con gran doblez.	3
	En mi memoria, y estáis	7
	En mi cuidado;	3_
	Mas vos mi mal no sentis,	7
	0 0 0	3 7
	Que en mi frente os paseais	3
	Por lo empedrado.	

VI

Durante los siglos XVIII y XIX las combinaciones métricas en las cuales abundan los ejemplos de compensación y de sinalefa entre versos no son muy populares, pero se emplean con bastante frecuencia para que no falten los ejemplos de ambos fenómenos en la versificación.

Siguen algunos ejemplos de compensación entre versos en la poesía del siglo XVIII.

José Somoza: 24

²⁴ Poetas Viricos del Siglo XVIII, ed. Cueto, Tomo III, B. A. E., vol. 67, Madrid, 1875.

469a	De su suerte en inquietud	3	_7_
	Con tinua están.	3	
	Y ruidosa multitud	3	_7_
	Di ciendo van;	3	
470a	Verdaderos, despreciar	3	_7
	Los aparentes,	3-	
	En rueda que ha de volver		_7_
	For tuna instable!	3_	
	Su circunferencia un ser		-7-
	Tan vulnerable!	3_	
	Dado sea conseguir	3	_ 7 _
	Tal beatitud,	3	

Más abundantes, al parecer, son los ejemplos del siglo XIX. Siguen algunos.

José de Espronceda: 25

-	•	
116	Pues nuestra gloria pasó,	
	Jun tos lloremos.	3_
José Zor	rilla: 26	
83-84	Tanto soñar sin dormir	7
	Y tanto afán,	3
84a	Cerrándose sin sentir	
	Los ojos van	3
	Y el insecto pertinaz	37_
	Que bulle en torno	3-
84b	En lo que hemos de soñar	37-
	Cuan do morimos	3-
254b	Y huyo a mi pesar de ti.	
	Hulye de aquí.	
Rafael P	ombo: 27	
348	Y de absurdos aquel tal	37
	Con trabandista.	

⁸⁸ Obras Poéticas de Don José de Espronceda, Paris, 1900.

²⁶ Obras de Don José Zorrilla, ed. Ildefonso de Ovejas, Paris, s.a., Tomo I. A los casos de sinalefa entre versos que citamos para Zorrilla en La sinalefa entre versos, Sección VI, añádanse los que se encuentran entre tetrasflabos en páginas 470, 515, 517.

²⁷ Poesías de Rafael Pombo, ed. Gómez Restrepo, Bogotá, 1916, Tomo I.

351 Gracias a Dios que no fué De ese oficio ningún E- vangelista.	Gracias a Dios que no fué	7
	De ese oficio ningún E-	37
	3-	

El segundo caso del poeta colombiano tiene la novedad de añadir al verso que precede no una sílaba sin acento e innecesaria, sino una sílaba que recibe el acento y que es necesaria para el metro y para la rima. Y por eso el poeta la ha puesto, al parecer, donde pertenece, a la manera horaciana.

Igual procedimiento encontramos entre los siguientes versos trisílabos del moderno poeta mejicano, Jesús Villalpando: 28

Dejéla que partiera	_26_
En pos	_2
Del sol	_ 2
Y un poco me ha dolido	_ 2 6 _
El co-	_2
razón.	_ 2

Estos tres últimos casos no son en realidad de compensación ordinaria, como ya queda dicho en sección I.

VI

En la poesía moderna la compensación entre versos es muy rara, más rara aún que la sinalefa entre versos, al parecer, pero no faltan algunos versificadores, los mismos que emplean la sinalefa, exceptuando a Darío, que todavía la emplean en sus ritmos. Siguen algunos ejemplos notables.

Ricardo León: 29

50	que es un puro padecer	37_
	penas divinas.	3-
52	y sólo sé amar y arder	
	en este fuego.	3_

Ramón del Valle-Inclán, Versos de Job: 80

²⁸ Nuevos Poetas de México, ed. Genaro Estrada, México, 1916, página 330.

³ Alivio de Caminantes, en Tomo I de sus Obras Completas, Madrid, 1915.

En casos como este último de Valle-Inclán, de los cuales hay muchos, no es siempre fácil decidir si hay que enlazar la consonante con la vocal que sigue o no. Si hay pausa después del octosílabo esqueleto de leónen | el desierto la ene va separada de la vocal siguiente, pero si los dos versos se leen seguidos y sin pausa entre ellos la división silábica es como sigue: esqueleto de leóne | nel desierto.

E. Ramírez Angel: 30

366 la que nunca ha de volver
$$-\frac{3}{3}$$
 $-\frac{7}{3}$ $-\frac{3}{3}$

VIII

La compensación entre versos en la versificación española, por consiguiente, queda establecida de la misma manera que antes la sinalefa, con numerosos ejemplos desde el siglo XIV hasta el día de hoy. Es también un fenómeno de grande importancia que merece ser estudiado con mucho esmero encualquier estudio que se haga de la versificación española. Hemos visto que ambos fenómenos se hallan en general entre octosílabos y tetrasílabos o entre tetrasílabos, pero hay bastantes ejemplos de compensación y también de sinalefa entre octosílabos y entre otros metros para poder afirmar que ambos fenómenos pueden emplearse entre cualesquiera metros ya sea cortos o largos. Es muy natural que cuanto más largos sean los versos o grupos rítmicos mayores las pausas sean más largas, y como consecuencia de este factor cuantitativo la tendencia a la sinalefa o compensación entre ellos es menos favorecida.

Juan del Encina en su Arte de Poesía Castellana y Antonio de Nebrija en su Gramática Castellana comprenden perfectamente la existencia de la compensación entre versos en la poesía

³⁰ Parnaso Español Contemporáneo, ed. José Brissa, Barcelona, 1914.

Comprenderán nuestros lectores que cuando damos un ejemplo tenemos completa seguridad de que es verdadero en vista de la regularidad métrica de todo el poema, o serie de estrofas; octosílabos y tetrasílabos, etc. Un par de versos, claro es, nada nos dice; pues no hay motivo para negar la existencia de pentasílabos que alternan con octosílabos, etc., etc. En su Canción de Carnaval Darío alterna tetrasílabos y pentasílabos con octosílabos de una manera difícil de comprender. De versos semejantes, naturalmente no podemos probar nada en cuanto a compensación y sinaleía entre versos.

castellana de su época y así lo atestiguan con toda claridad, diciéndonos que en los pies quebrados puede haber cinco sílabas cuando el verso que precede es agudo y así la primera del pie quebrado no entra en la cuenta, o 'va perdida,' como ellos dicen. Están ambos en error cuando nos declaran que la sílaba que sobra va perdida, pero tienen razón cuando declaran que no entra en la cuenta.³¹ En el caso de la sinalefa entre versos la sílaba inicial del pie quebrado se pierde en realidad, y por eso Juan del Encina y Nebrija no se daban cuenta de su existencia. Nebrija, al parecer, admitía en este caso, como en muchos otros de sinalefa ordinaria, la elisión completa de la primera vocal, según lo que nos dice en Capítulo VII de su *Gramática Castellana*.

En nuestra investigación sobre la sinalefa y la compensación entre versos en la poesía española nos hemos limitado a los casos evidentes que a nuestro ver no admiten discusión. Pero al llegar al fin de estos dos estudios preliminares debemos indicar que todavía hay muchísimos casos discutibles que no

³¹ Los pasajes de Juan del Encina y de Nebrija que a este problema se refieren son los siguientes (Menéndez y Pelayo, Antología de poetas líricos castellanos, tomo V,

Madrid, 1894, páginas 42 para Juan del Encina y 63 para Nebrija):

"Ay otro genero de trobar que resulta de los sobredichos que se llama pie quebrado que es medio pie assi de arte real: son quatro silabas ó su equiualencia é éste suelese trobar al pie quebrado mezclado con los enteros é a las vezes passan cinco silabas por medio pie é entonces dezimos que la una vá perdida assi como dixo don Jorge:

Como deuemos." [Arte de Poesía Castellana, Capítulo V.]

"Puede entrar este verso con medio pie perdido por el segundo presupuesto. e assi puede tener cinco silabas. Como don jorge Manrique.

Un constantino en la fe Que mantenia.

Que mantenia tiene cinco silabas. las cuales valen por cuatro. porque la primera no entra en la cuenta con las otras." [Gramática Castellana, Capítulo VIII.]

El caso que discute después Nebrija del Marqués de Santillana (Menéndez y Pelayo, Antología, páginas 63-64),

Solo por aumentacion De umanidad

es en realidad un ejemplo de compensación y sinalefa entre versos al mismo tiempo. La explicación de Nebrija, un poco obscura y vaga, viene a probar después de todo nuestro parecer:

"De umanidad tiene cuatro silabas o valor dellas: porque entro con una perdida. e echo fuera la e, por el tercero presupuesto. e la ultima vale por dos: segun el cuarto."

hemos tratado porque no hemos querido complicar demasiado problemas tan poco comprendidos por la mayoría de los que a estos estudios se dedican. Los ejemplos de ambos casos se aumentarían notablemente si admitiésemos muchos casos que se pueden arreglar de otra manera, particularmente admitiendo sinalefas o sinéresis violentas en el pie quebrado. Un caso muy interesante es el de si debemos admitir compensación entre versos cuando hay que añadir la sílaba que sobra al principio del verso a un verso llano que precede. Este problema lo vamos a tratar en un estudio especial.

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THE DAUGHTER OF THE SUN

A STUDY IN DANTE'S MULTIPLE SYMBOLISM

"Così si fa la pelle bianca nera, Nel primo aspetto della bella figlia Di quei ch'apporta mane e lascia sera."

WITH these words, spoken immediately upon entering the heaven of the *Primum Mobile*, Beatrice concludes a comprehensive indictment of Cupidity as source of all evils on earth. It is a flood spiritually as devastating as that physical one from which only Noah and his family escaped. The continuous rain of it has rotted the fruits of man's good will. It is a witch's brew that has turned innocence into guilt. In fine, it has left black the once white skin of the daughter of the Sun.

This indictment follows description of the *Primum Mobile* as wholly involved in "light and love,"—the dual radiance, that is, of the divine Sun; and presently Dante sees the intense glory of that radiance reflected there upon the nine angelic orders. Eternally, then, in aspect first and last, the crystalline sphere and dome of the world is incandescent white; to it, God, the divine Sun, bringeth dawn and leaveth dawn; it knows no blackness of night. Spiritually, the prime motive of the *Primum Mobile* is "light intellectual full of love," or charity.

The immobile earth, on the contrary, is not so all and always kept white by its illumining sun, which "bringeth dawn and leaveth dusk." Dante has just had visible evidence of the inconstant aspects of earth. Looking from his place among the stars, and revolving at an interval with the sun, he has seen successive sectors of earth, white in their first aspect, left black as the sun's beam, like a giant searchlight, swept beyond them. To him, situated as he was, earth had shown such phases as the moon shows to observers on earth.

Because the moon derives her light from the sun she may be called figuratively daughter of the sun.¹ And so, on the same

¹ So Bonaventure, Illuminationes Ecclesiae, sermo xxii, prin°.: "Luna est filia solis, et recepit lumen ab eo."

ground, may the earth. So, in their naked literalness, Beatrice's words about the daughter of the sun might merely draw parallel between the changes in human nature produced by Cupidity and those in the aspects of earth, when seen from afar, produced by the revolving sun. The phrase "primo aspetto" is a natural astronomical term such as Dante might have used to record scientifically the phenomena observed by him.

But his observations themselves were not casual. Beatrice commanded them, alleging also that being now "so near to the supreme weal," he should have "lights clear and keen." Manifestly, she commands the observation for a purpose. But for all the clearness and keenness of his visual and mental lights, her pupil hardly profits much from what he sees—only a visible realization of the pettiness of the sphere of earth, and still more of that fragment of it we inhabit and is the "threshing-ground which makes us so ferocious."

The reflection is edifying, but rather trite. Moreover, Dante draws no inference at all from the changing details of his double observation, though he carefully records them. Indeed, to use a current scholastic distinction, he records a vision, a thing seen; but to interpret its meaning, to make it a revelation, there needs Beatrice.³ And such is her function, or that of her deputies, throughout the poem. Ever she has obtained for him, in dream or otherwise, visions, things seen; ⁴ commonly he has imperfectly or wrongly understood the meaning of these, and so erred; but now in paradise immediately adding interpretation to vision, she gives revelations as full as need be, ad necessitatem. Hence Dante's final thanks:

"Di tante cose quante io ho vedute, Dal tuo potere e dalla tua bontate Riconosco la grazia e la virtute."

He thanks her, that is, not for the things he has seen; for to his

² Par. xxii, 124-126.

³ On the distinction between vision and revelation, cf. Aquinas, Ad II Cor. xii, 1: "Revelatio includit visionem et non e converso; nam aliquando videntur aliqua, quorum intellectus et significatio est occulta videnti, et tunc est visio solum, sicut fuit visio Pharaonis et Nabuchodonosor, . . . sed quando cum visione habetur significatio et intellectus eorum, quae videntur, tunc est revelatio."

⁴ Pg. xxx, 133-135.

human judgment these might have given false and misleading lights. He thanks her for their "grace and efficacy" as due to

her, their interpreter's, power and goodness,

Now naturally the interpretation must clearly attach itself to the vision needing it. And Dante employs various devices of attachment. Often a prophetic dream reveals the significance of an ensuing experience—such as he dreamed each night on the purgatorial mount. As he rises through paradise, however, his clearer insight justifies more direct and explicit explanation. So Beatrice had promised:

"Veramente oramai saranno nude Le mie parole, quanto converrasi Quelle scoprire alla tua vista rude." ⁵

And fitly, her explanations follow immediately upon the enigmatic experiences.

It may fairly be asked, however, why, if her words next following Dante's vision of the far earth are designed to explain that vision, the explanation itself requires explanation. Is Beatrice keeping after all her promise to speak plainly?

Answer to this question lies in the educational idea that she has followed throughout with her, as he with his reader. This educational idea is contained in Dante's own maxim:

"Nasce per quello, a guisa di rampollo, A piè del vero il dubbio; ed è natura, Ch'al sommo pinge noi di collo in collo." 6

Consequently, a good teacher in answering one question should provoke another, so keeping the pupil's mind alert and leading him step by step to more comprehensive knowledge.⁷

In the present instance, Beatrice's answer is to Dante's unspoken question when his gaze lifts from the mottled earth below his feet to the even whiteness about him of the *Primum Mobile*. She explains this white radiance as of the divine Sun of

⁸ Pg. xxxiii, 100-102. Beatrice's ministrations in the Earthly Paradise reflect symbolically Christ's ministrations on the earth, made a paradise of peace by Augustus. Her concluding promise of future plain-speaking corresponds to Christ's at the Last Supper—John xvi, 25.

⁶ Par. iv, 130-132.

⁷ For the method in action, see Par. xi, 25-27.

"light and love," whereas the blackening of earth is due to divine love's opposite, cupidity. She has silently passed over from the literal to the figurative, interpreting the physical darkening of the earth, which Dante saw, as the spiritual darkening of the inhabitants of the earth, which of course Dante could not see. Moreover, speaking in the *Primum Mobile*, she implies absolute contrast between its motivation of charity, the ardor of the Seraphim its movers, and the motivation of "the present life of wretched mortals" on earth, which is cupidity.

Naturally, then, in this figurative context a corresponding figurative meaning attaches to "the daughter of him that bringeth dawn and leaveth dusk." As hinted indeed in the next following words, this daughter of the sun no longer is the earthsphere, but becomes the earth-people, the "human family." And this signification has, as commonly stated by commentators, the warrant of Aristotle in a passage quoted by Dante himself. Beatrice's statement would then read: So mankind's skin, white at first (nel primo aspetto), is made black.

Such is Dante's philosophy of history. Mankind began well—with unfallen Adam; but has become utterly depraved. There have been, of course, breaks in the long process of degradation, new partial starts "white" in innocence—like that in Eden. Greatest of all these fresh starts is of course that made possible by the crucified Christ; and next those inaugurated by holy men in imitation of the Savior. But all these regenerating movements, individual or collective, so "white" in their inception, sooner or later by cupidity were made "black." The lamentation of one disappointed reformer, St. Benedict, may serve for all, and it ends in the same figure as Beatrice's:

"La carne dei mortali è tanto blanda
Che giù non basta buon cominciamento
Dal nascer della quercia al far la ghianda.
Pier cominciò senz'oro e senza argento,
Ed io con orazioni e con digiuno,
E Francesco umilmente il suo convento.
E se guardi il principio di ciascuno,
Poscia riguardi la dov'è trascorso,
Tu vederai del bianco fatto bruno."

⁸ Mon. I, ix, 4-10.

⁹ Par. xxii, 85-93.

The reason for this continual backsliding, these successive blackenings of the naturally white skin of the daughter of the sun, both physical and spiritual, lies not with the generality of mankind, whose will is good. The fault is with mankind's leaders, or with the want of leadership. Now of all guides for earthly creatures the most constant and reliable is the sun, the

"pianeta Che mena dritto altrui per ogni calle." 12

By it our way is lit; by it our eyes have sight. It is a symbol, therefore, of all right leadership from that of God down. And to follow the sun's course is to follow the right course.

In his two observations of earth from his place in the constellation of Gemini Dante had in a double sense been following the sun. He had been revolving along with it in its diurnal course. and he had been following the pathway of its radiance on earth. The direction followed was of course from East to West. Furthermore, Dante says that he was "a sign and more" behind the sun.¹³ If, as is permissible and for the symbolism probable, we take "a sign and more" to mean a sign and a half, or 45°, he saw at his first observation the earth illumined from the farthest habitable East to Rome, and at his second observation from Jerusalem to halfway between Gibraltar and the Mount of Purgatory. These so highly significant terminals certainly suggest a symbolic intention, to which a possible hint is offered by the following passage from St. Bonaventure.14 "The mutability of things is shown in this, that those things which preeminently encircle the world, to wit wisdom and power, began in the East, and traversed the habitable earth as far as the West, as a sign that all things progress to their setting (ad occasum). For the study of wisdom began in Egypt, was then in Greece, thereafter at Rome, and finally in France and England. Similarly, kingdoms were first in the East, later in Greece, later with the Romans; now the power of empire resides in Germany."

¹⁰ Par. xxvii, 124. Cf. also Marco's testimony-Pg. xvi, 85 ff.

¹¹ Pg. xvi, 103-105; Par. xxvii, 139-151.

¹² Inf. i, 17-18.

¹³ Par. xxvii, 86-87.

¹⁴ Compendium theologicae veritatis, lib. II, cap. x. Of course, a compendium would present only accepted facts. It is not at all contended that Dante had read this particular statement of them.

As, then, the *Primum Mobile* is "encircled by light and love," so earth is "encircled by wisdom and power"; ¹⁵ and in Dante's symbolism all wisdom is from the light-ray of the divine Sun, all power from its heat, or love. Therefore there is right rule or guidance on earth in that part or person reflecting the divine Sun, trinity of Power, Wisdom, Love; and as if by pre-established harmony the course of that reflected ideal radiance corresponds with the progressive illumination of his "daughter," as Dante observes her, by the physical sun, he who "bringeth dawn and leaveth dusk," in his circling

"per tutto l'arco Che fa dal mezzo al fine il primo clima."

The divine Sun radiates its glory always and everywhere more or less; ¹⁶ but Dante is presently concerned only with the illumination which makes for right rule and guidance, lacking which "the human family goes astray." There is need, as he explains at length in his essay on Monarchy, ¹⁷ of double rule and guidance, temporal and spiritual. Logically, the temporal need is first; since mankind needs the outward peace of justice to win the inward peace of charity. ¹⁸ It would be appropriate, therefore, if Dante's first observation carried a revelation concerning temporal governance; his second one concerning spiritual governance. In his first observation the range of visibility is, on the premises assumed, from the far East to Rome, lying, as Dante believed, 45° West of Jerusalem. In his second, the range is from Jerusalem to well on the way towards the purgatorial Mount, which is antipodal to Jerusalem.

Now as Bonaventure says, the actual—and supposedly predestined—march of temporal empire was from far East to Rome, and later to Germany. For Dante, however, the westward progress should have halted at Rome. German dominion was an usurpation as ruinous to the world as Constantine's inverse error of making the empire again "Greek." The Germans carried the Eagle into the shadow beyond the sun's illumination;

¹⁵ The parallelism of the two phrases "d'un cerchio lui comprende" and "mundus amplectitur" is interesting.

¹⁶ Par. i, 1-3.

¹⁷ Especially, III, xvi.

¹⁸ Cf. Mon. I, iv.

Constantine had "turned the Eagle back against the course of the sun." 19

Rome temporally ruling, the pax Romana established, the right condition precedent obtained for the spiritual rule of the Church, her guidance leads from Jerusalem, place of Christ's Passion, to the Gate of Probation on the Mount of Purgatory. So in his second observation, himself set on the meridian of Rome, Dante sees the second illumination of the sun to extend at least far enough beyond the barrier Pillars of Hercules to mark

the way to the Mount.

Thus the vision obtained for him by Beatrice becomes another confirmatory revelation of the supreme message she throughout, personally and through many coadjutors, has commanded him to deliver "for sake of the world that evil lives." 20 In the light of the revelation, the interpreted vision, Dante's literal descriptive words take on a secondary meaning fitting the deeper context. He had said that at his first observation he saw all the threshing-ground that makes us so ferocious, from hills to mouths. As has been often pointed out, he could not have had at any one moment this comprehensive survey of the whole habitable earth included between the Caucasus mountains on the North and the mouths of Ganges and Ebro East and West. This whole would have come into view only gradually, as he revolved with the sun. But his first survey would have included from certain "hills" to certain "mouths,"—a transit of supreme importance for the temporal redemption of Christendom. transit is from the "hills" of Ida, whence "issued first" the Roman Eagle,21 to the two "mouths" of the Tiber, river of Rome, its destined eyry. And precisely because the Eagle has been kept from its evry has Christendom become a threshingground of ferocity. Also, had the "sacred Bird" been suffered to keep watch from its evry of Rome, many a redeemed soul might have embarked from Tiber's mouths which instead sank to the dread bank of Acheron.22

Again, Dante had said that at his second observation he had

¹⁹ Par. vi, I ff. Cf. Par. xx, 55-60.

²⁰ Pg. xxxii, 103. Cf. Pg. xxxiii, 52-54.

²¹ Par. vi, 6.

²² Cf. Pg. xxv, 85-87.

seen some distance along Ulysses' mad track from near the shore where Europa was made sweet burden. Ulysses' track led to the Mount of Purgatory. It was mad for him lacking the light and leading of the divine Sun, but made safe for the soul convoyed thither by God's angel. Europa was made sweet burden for Jove on the Phoenician shore. Europa gave her name to Europe, 23 and for Dante Europe was coextensive with actual Christendom. Actually also, Europe, or Christendom, was made "sweet burden" for the divine Jove, Christ, at Jerusalem, which is near the Phoenician shore. And that divine sacrifice it was that made the "track" "mad" for Ulysses, the wisdom of Paganism, secure for Christians, those standing, as Dante now is, upon imperial and holy Rome.

Illumined for universal rule, temporal and spiritual,²⁵ Rome now becomes fitly the Daughter of the Sun.²⁶ And that divine Sun, withdrawing into its higher heaven, yet left behind two vicarious Suns, Pope and Emperor, which should, each in its own sphere, continue to illumine the world from Rome. So already the spirit of Mark the Lombard has told Dante, but added that "the one has quenched the other." ²⁷ That which brought dawn has left dusk. Rome's skin, white in the first aspect, is turned black. And the cause is the cupidity of the Papacy, corrupted

by Constantine's fatal gift.28

This symbolism is also enriched by significant correspondences of place and time. The guiding and saving light of Christ's Passion was shed over the habitable world from its

³³ Cf. Isidore, Etymologiarum, lib. XIV, iv, 1 (Ed. W. M. Lindsay, Oxford, 1911):
"Europa quippe Agenoris regis Libyae filia fuit, quam Jovis ab Africa raptam Cretam

advexit, et partem tertiam orbis ex eius nomine appellavit."

²⁴ With this image of Christ bearing the burden of the Christian world cf. that of him as Griffin drawing the "blessed burden" (benedetto carco) of his Church—Pg. xxxii, 26. Note also that the word carco is made an identical rhyme-word connecting the two passages.

25 Cf. Inf. ii, 13-30.

³⁶ Dante had authority for the image. Bonaventure writes: "Roma . . . universalis est. Ideo "civitas Solis vocabitur una," (Isaiak xix, 18) quia etai aliae quatuor sedes plenam auctoritatem habent super ecclesiis partialibus, sola tamen Roma universaliter, sicut Sol super planetas, habet plenitudinem potestatis super omnes." Illuminationes Ecclesiae, sermo xxii, med.

²⁷ Pg. xvi, 106-109.

²⁸ Inf. xix, 115-117 et al.

center, Jerusalem.²⁹ Conceived as physical light, the glory of the Passion illumined the habitable earth—the hemisphere of which Jerusalem is the center—exactly as the sun would at its meridian over Jerusalem at the vernal equinox. At the time of Dante's first observation the sun was in that position and season; ³⁰ and he describes the beneficent moment as when the sun rises from the point of conjunction of "four circles with three crosses." The astronomical fact may yield a symbolic meaning. The Gospels, says Rabanus Maurus, are signified by the "four golden circles" of *Exodus* xv, 12; and they converge, or meet in,

the Passion, that is, the three Crosses on Calvary. 31

His own light withdrawn into heaven. Christ set his two vicarious Suns, Pope and Emperor, on the meridian of Rome, center as Rome is of Europe, that is, of the sphere of Christendom. So Beatrice, Dante's "Christ," or savior, shows him at the end of his transit following the sun himself set at the meridian of Rome-and Florence. Reflecting her light, he himself has become a sun of light and guidance for the "garden of the empire," his native land. Also, falling perpendicularly upon it, his ray of grace becomes thereby a saving one. For, as Bonaventure says, "teachers of perspective say, that if a perpendicular ray fall upon a smooth and polished body, necessarily by the same path and pace it is reflected back to its source; but not so a ray of incidence. The influx of grace-given-gratis is as the ray of incidence: the influx of grace-making-acceptable is as the perpendicular ray." 32 Finally, as Christ's saving Passion took place at the end of the sixth hour, so Dante's saving position is reached at the end of the sixth hour of his transit with his natal stars. The sixth hour is the midday hour, and it is at the midday hour of his earthly transit, "nel mezzo del cammin," that the great saving vision recorded in the "sacred poem" is vouchsafed to him.

Cause, as has been said, of the blackening of the Daughter of

30 Par. xxvii, 79-81; i, 37-45.

22 Illuminationes Ecclesiae, ii.

²⁹ ". . . quia virtus passionis ejus ad totum mundum diffundenda erat, in medio terrae habitabilis pati voluit, id est Hierusalem." Aquinas, *Summa theol*. III, xlvi, 10, ad 1.

³¹ Allegoriae in s. Script., s. n. circulus. Migne, CXII, 896.

the Sun is Cupidity. Above all, in Dante's view, guilt lies with the cupidity of the Papacy, blooded as it had been with the baleful sop of Constantine's Donation. As after the sop given to Judas, so into the "first rich father" had entered Satan. The "white" charity which should inspire Christ's Vicar has turned to its opposite, "black" cupidity. The representative of the Lamb has been changed into a Wolf, the *Lupa* that held up Dante in the Dark Wood. For actually, it was the embruted Pope who plotted Dante's downfall. And the Wolf takes on human form in the Harlot, or "*Lupa*," who usurps Beatrice's seat on the Car of the Church after its monstrous transformation. 4

Now by first intention this Harlot manifestly reflects the apocalyptic Whore of Babylon with her "cup of abominations," by which witch-brew she changes her innocent flock into her own wolfish likeness, so that it

"poi divora (con la lingua sciolta) Qualunque cibo per qualunque luna." **

And by this black magic the Harlot of Rome becomes one in principle with the great Witch and Werwolf of antiquity, Circe "versipellis," ³⁶ Circe, "filia Solis."

Beatrice also works enchantments. By the "pasture" of his eyes upon her "blessed aspect," ⁸⁷ as Glaucus by his "tasting of the herb," Dante is "transhumanized," changed, as it were, to a god. ⁸⁸ She is, in the symbolically pregnant sense of the word, a white witch, the spirit of charity, a "candor" born of the divine Sun, a Circe truly "pulcherrima." ⁸⁹ But the Circe who has dispossessed her is a black witch, the spirit of cupidity, born of a hot and intemperate Sun "of temptation." ⁸⁰ Her "pasture" "changes the natures" of men in the opposite direction. In-

³⁸ Par. xvii, 46-51.

³⁴ Pg. xxxii, 148 ff.

⁸⁵ Par. xxvii, 131-132.

³⁶ Arnobius, Adversus gentes, IV, xiv (Migne V, 1029).

³⁷ Par. xxi, 19-20.

⁸⁸ Par. i, 64 ff.

²⁹ Ovid, Metam. IV, 205.

^{*} Among other things, notes Rabanus, the sun signifies "tentationis calor." Allegoriae, etc., s. n. Sol.

stead of "transhumanizing" them into gods, it dehumanizes them into beasts.41

Thus, originally evoked by the physical phenomenon made visible to Dante of the sun's beam advancing like a spotlight over the surface of the earthball, bringing whiteness and leaving behind blackness. Beatrice's figurative pronouncement then seems to enmesh itself with various groups of symbols, developed from different, but in some respects cognate, metaphors—the whole complex meanwhile converging to one common message. Such is Dante's method of multiple symbolism. I would not pretend to have completely, or even so far as I have gone correctly, analyzed the complex in hand, but I hope at least to have indicated that when Dante affirmed so positively in his dedicatory-epistle to his patron that his allegorical poem was "polysemum, hoc est plurium sensuum," polysemous, i.e. of many senses, he meant it. Not only is his allegory as a total message multiple in carrying a dominantly political and personal, besides the obvious moral and religious or mystical, intention, but also the individual symbols and symbol-groups that taken together form the allegory are themselves multiple in their significance, crystals of metaphor of many facets. To recognize this plain fact, common to nearly all serious allegorical writing from the 4th to the 14th century-and after-is to avoid the endless quarrels between commentators seeking to assign a single and invariable significance to each character or other symbolic item of the Comedy. Of each live symbol it may be said:

> "How true a twain Seemeth this concordant one,"—

indeed, How true a twenty, perhaps!

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⁴¹ Cf. Pg. xiv, 40 ff. It may be noted that the word "pastura" always occurs in the *Comedy* as a rhyme-word, so serving as a clue to cross reference among passages bearing upon the transmutation symbol. Cf. Pg. ii, 125; xiv, 42; Par. v, 102; xviii, 74; xxi, 19; xxvii, 91.

MISCELLANEOUS

THE ATTITUDE TOWARD THE ENEMY IN SIXTEENTH CENTURY SPANISH NARRATIVE POETRY

POEMS and Editions used in this paper arranged with abbreviated titles in the probable chronological order of composition:

Conquista de la Nueva Castilla (anonymous), published by J. A. Sprecher de Bernegg, Paris and León, Blanc and Co., 1848; Segunda parte de Orlando, Nicolás Espinosa, Antwerp, 1557; La Carolea, Hierónimo Sempere, Valencia, 1560; Carlo famoso, Luis Zapata, Valencia, 1565; La Araucana, Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga, B. A. E., vol. 17, Madrid, 1905; Felicisima victoria concedida del cielo en el golfo de Lepanto, Hierónimo Corte-Real, Lisbon, 1578; Hechos del Cid, Diego Jiménez Ayllón, Alcalá de Henares, 1579; La Austriada, Juan Rufo, B. A. E., vol. 29, Madrid, 1864; El León de España, Pedro de la Vezilla Castellanos, Salamanca, 1586; Historia del Monserrate, Cristóbal de Virués, B. A. E., vol. 17, Madrid, 1905; Cortés valeroso o la Mexicana, Gabriel Lasso de la Vega, Madrid, 1588, 2d ed., 1594; Elegias de varones ilustres de Indias, Juan de Castellanos, B. A. E., vol. 4, Madrid, 1874; La conquista en el reino de Granada, Duarte Díaz, Madrid, 1590; Las Navas de Tolosa, Cristóbal de Mesa, Madrid, 1594; Arauco domado, Pedro de Oña, B. A. E., vol. 29, Madrid, 1864; La Araucana, Cuarta y quinta parte, Diego de Santisteban Osorio, 3d. ed., Madrid, 1735; La Dragontea, Lope de Vega, Obras sueltas, Madrid, 1776, vol. 3; Las guerras de Malta y toma de Rodas, Diego de Santisteban Osorio, Madrid, 1599; El Peregrino indiano, Antonio de Saavedra Guzmán, Madrid, 1599; Argentina, y conquista del Río de la Plata, Martín del Barco Centenera, Madrid, 1749; Conquista de la Bética, Juan de la Cueva, Poesías castellanas, Madrid, 1801, vols. 14 and 15; El Bernardo, Bernardo de Valbuena, B. A. E., vol. 17, Madrid.¹

¹ These are the only sixteenth century poems dealing with historical subjects that the author has been able to consult. It is hoped at some future time to add material from a few poems at present inaccessible and to proceed with the poems of the seventeenth century. The author hopes also later to study the sources of the poems. As the editions consulted represent widely differing dates and styles of

The sixteenth century enemies of Spain may be divided into four groups: Catholics, represented by the Italians, Portuguese, and French; Protestants, represented by the Germans, Dutch, and English; Mohammedans, represented by the Moors and Turks; and the Indians of the New World.

I. CATHOLICS

Among Catholic enemies the French are the most prominent. Slight attention is paid by the narrative poets to the Italians and Portuguese as enemies. Enmity with France centers about two historical periods—the time of Charlemagne and the sixteenth century. The principal authorities are:

Espinosa and Valbuena—Battle of Roncesvalles; Zapata and Sempere—Wars between Francis I and Charles V; Ercilla

-Capture of Saint Quentin.

Wars between Spain and France seemed to the Spanish poets a natural result of the proximity of two high-spirited peoples:

"Porque de enemistad causa bastante
A los hombres de ahora es ser vecinos:" 2

Zapata represents a Frenchwoman as saying to some Spanish knights:

"Que vos siendo de aquéllos, que me han muerto Mi bien, vos Español, y yo Francesa, Podíamos hacer juntos mal concierto, Contrarios siendo habido en una empresa." ³

Again:

"Por todo el mundo pues corrió la fama, Que los dos poderosos de la tierra, Por el Imperio humano, y por su fama Habían de pelear, que tenían guerra." 4

printing, the spelling of titles and quotations throughout the article, except in a few special cases, has been made to conform to modern standards. The punctuation of the originals has usually been followed, but a few changes have been made. By these means greater consistency is obtained. If it had been possible in each case to consult the original edition, it might have been better to reproduce the original printing. In an article of this kind, it is the sense of the quotation, and not its exact form, that is important.

² Carlo famoso, canto XLVII, folio 258, stanza 14.

² Ibid., XXXIII, 182, 9. ⁴ Ibid., XXI, 115, 18.

Espinosa, Valbuena, and other poets tried to add to the glory of contemporary Spain by describing the victory of Roncesvalles. Valbuena attributed to Charlemagne the desire for universal monarchy. This desire was not an unnatural one, according to Valbuena, and might well have succeeded, had not destiny reserved for Spain the post of honor as mistress of the world.⁵

Blame for the wars between France and Spain in the sixteenth century is imputed to the French. Sempere describes the French as belligerent and quarrelsome. Zapata charges the French, and particularly Francis I, with inordinate ambition and with envy of Charles V. He describes how Satan sent the spirit of envy to Francis to stir his natural desire for honor and fame and to make him take arms against Charles.⁶

Zapata showed a greater detestation of war than the other narrative poets. He thought it particularly unfortunate that wars should take place between Christian princes who ought to unite against the Turks.⁷

On the whole, the attitude of the Spanish poets toward the French is generous. Zapata describes the honor paid to the body of Bayard.⁸ Valbuena describes as follows the city of Paris:

"Está en medio de Francia París puesta, Ciudad insigne, corte populosa, De edificios bellísimos compuesta, En letras y armas clara y poderosa;" 9

Recognition is given to French courage, chivalry, and humanity. Chivalrous feelings and actions between Frenchmen and Spaniards are considered natural and proper. Sempere thus describes an ideal state of friendship:

"... los Imperios dos preclaros
Despaña y de la Francia, y sus reinados:
Enrique con Felipe, Reyes raros,
Miro reinando en paz confederados." 10

⁵ Bernardo: cantos I, II, III are full of references to French pride and ambition; details of the Roncesvalles matter are here omitted.

⁶ Carlo famoso, cantos XX and XXI.

⁷ Cf. also Corte-Real's Lepanto, canto IX, folio 120.

^{*} Carlo famoso, XX, 108, 3.

Bernardo, XIII, stanza 21.

¹⁰ Carolea, V, 62, 2.

Zapata describes the good treatment of Francis I after the battle of Pavia.11 Mesa describes the French in terms of praise.12 Obviously, France was regarded as an honorable, spirited enemy, and as the country most nearly equal to Spain. Bravery, chivalry, humanity, power, military spirit were all present in the French to an extent unrivaled outside of Spain. While some writers believed in the eventual absorption of the whole world by Spain, others looked forward to a state of peace between France and Spain as between equals. The worst qualities ascribed to the French of the sixteenth century were ambition and envy, prevalent at a time when the Christian world ought to have united against the Turks. However, the same poets who sang of Spanish military glory could not entirely disapprove of ambitious projects in another nation. It is true that through the Spanish poems there run feelings of pride and superiority, but one would not expect humility on the part of imperialistic writers.

II. PROTESTANTS

References to Luther and his followers are invariably unflattering. The religious hatred toward the Protestants on the part of the Spanish poets is second only to their destestation of the Mohammedans. Sempere groups together the danger threatening Charles V from Turkey and from Protestant Germany. Zapata describes Luther's persistence as madness, and states that despite all of Charles's efforts he could not cure him.¹³ His attitude is illustrated in the following quotation:

"De otra parte parido había Alemaña Un año antes de aquesto un monstruo fiero," 14

At the very end of the Austriada Rufo refers to the ominous spread of Lutheranism in the north. Lasso de la Vega balances the revolt of Luther with the conquest of Mexico:

"Que fué en el año mismo que Lutero, Monstruo contra la Iglesia horrible y fiero." 15

There is no detailed treatment of the relations between Spain

¹¹ Carlo famoso, XXV.

¹² Navas de Tolosa, I, stanza 72.

¹⁸ Carlo famoso, VI, 29, 2-18, describing the Diet of Worms.

¹⁴ Carlo famoso, III, 10, 12.

¹⁵ Mexicana, XXIII, 259, 1.

and the German Protestants. The Protestants of the Netherlands are described in some rare poems. ¹⁶ Passing references in other poems to the rebellious Flemings show resentment with a touch of pity for the hopelessness of the rebels' cause.

Of the Protestant enemies of Spain in the sixteenth century, the most formidable in war was England. General references to England are scattered throughout the poems:

> "No hablo ya en Britania que del todo Corrupta ciega está, desatinada." ¹⁷

Valbuena has a generous appreciation of England:

"Es reino ilustre, rico y belicoso, De gente afable, humana, y sus banderas Temor del gran Océano espantoso Serán en las edades venideras:" 18

Descriptions of strife between Spain and England are limited to the disturbances caused in the Spanish colonies by English freebooters or adventurers. The best sources are:

Lope de Vega's *Dragontea*—Drake's last voyage and death, and the defeat of Richard Hawkins; Barco Centenera—Drake's expedition around the world and Sir Thomas Cavendish's plundering party in Argentina; Pedro de Oña—Capture of Sir Richard Hawkins.

The English are accused of piracy, cruelty, covetousness or avarice, treachery, sacrilege and irreligion. References to the English as pirates are frequent. Lope de Vega calls Drake a "protestante pirata de Escocia," ¹⁹ and he calls Hawkins "el cosario pirata famoso." ²⁰ In a reference to Henry VIII, Lope says:

"¿Qué Átila, qué Varanes igualaron A Henrico Octavo, cuya muerte lloro? Y cuyas manos fieras acabaron Aquel mártir Tomás Cristiano y Moro:" 21

¹⁶ Miguel Giner, Sitio y toma de Amberes and B. de Vargas, Alva. Neither of these poems has been accessible to the writer.

¹⁷ Lepanto, I, folio 4.

¹⁸ Bernardo, XVI, 41.

¹⁹ Dragontea, I, stanza 2.

²⁰ Ibid., II, 43.

²¹ Ibid., I, 21.

²³

Elsewhere Lope describes the torture inflicted by the English upon an old Spaniard to make him give them information. Lope also complains of the burning of Nombre de Dios by the English contrary to custom; and without affirming its truth, mentions a story that Drake had a compact with the devil.²² However, cruel as the deeds of Drake and others were, they were no worse than deeds whose performance by the Spaniards in other wars is admitted by the poets. When we come to the vices of covetousness, sacrilege, and heresy, a much stronger case against the English is presented. The last stanza of the first canto of the *Dragontea* ends as follows:

"Al arma, al arma, al oro, al oro, Draque, Si hay tanto junto que la tuya [codicia] aplaque."

In the fifth canto of the *Dragontea* there is reference after reference to the English thirst for gold. In fact, Lope's whole poem is written upon the supposition that the English government and English subjects coveted the wealth of the Indies and tried unjustly to appropriate it. Barco Centenera describes similarly a lust for riches in Drake and his followers:

"Aquesta fué la presa más famosa, Y robo, que jamás hizo cosario, Su hambre tan canina, y tan rabiosa, De plata bien hartó aqueste adversario:" 23

The Spanish poets were not unwilling to admit the sack of cities and robbery on the part of Spaniards, as the natural consequences of war and battle. The thefts committed by the English freebooters seemed worse only because they did not have the justification of formal war. However, when avarice led to sacrilege, such as the sacking of Catholic churches, the Spaniards could not condone it. That they were not altogether inconsistent is shown by the horror of Zapata over the sack of Rome by Spanish soldiers under the Constable of Bourbon. Lope de Vega is full of references to the profanation by the British of holy places. The sacrilegious deeds of Thomas Cavendish and his followers are described by Barco Centenera:

²² Dragontea, IX, 7 ff. 23 Argentina, XXII, 19.

"Saltó el Inglés en tierra, y al poblado Llegó con furia cruel, y repentina, Y como le ha hallado despoblado, Con su rabia diabólica, y maligna A una Santa Cruz ha escopetado," 24

The Spanish horror at sacrilege is only one phase of their religious enmity. Again and again the poets denounce their island enemies as followers of Luther. Pedro de Oña calls the English "los enemigos de las cruces" ²⁵ and "los sueltos luteranos." ²⁶

In the course of the *Dragontea*, Lope refers to Drake's craftiness. He accuses him of gaining victories by ambushes and in poorly defended places.²⁷

Even Lope de Vega, with all his bitterness, does not upon occasion withhold praise from his foes. Almost no attempt is made to show that the English were cowards. In the second canto of the *Dragontea*, Lope recognizes that Richard Hawkins had a powerful motive for his expedition, in that he desired to avenge the defeat of his father John Hawkins. Richard is little affected by the pleas of his wife who warns him of the danger from Spanish heroism. His bravery is shown in the following lines:

"Sabe el Virrey que es una vela sola, Y quiere combatir a la Española." 28

Pedro de Oña attributes to Richard Hawkins a goodly sprinkling of excellent qualities with some bad ones:

"Así el audaz pirata se decía,
Y Aquines por blasón, de clara gente,
Mozo, gallardo, próspero, valiente,
De proceder hidalgo en cuanto hacía;
Y acá, según moral filosofía,
Dejando lo que allá su ley consiente,

²⁴ Argentina, XXVI, stanza 18: horror at British devastation of holy places is found throughout canto XXVII.

^{*} Arauco domado, XVIII, 47.

²⁸ Ibid., XVIII, 55.

³⁷ Lope de Vega also attacks the English in his poem on Mary, Queen of Scots, the Corona trágica.

³ Dragontea, III, 15.

Afable, generoso, noble, humano, No crudo, riguroso ni tirano." ²⁹

The most remarkable tribute to an Englishman is that of Barco Centenera to Drake:

"No es justo al enemigo, que tenemos, Celalle sus hazañas, y sus hechos, Ni dejar de decir lo que sabemos, Que imbidia es el quitalle sus derechos: Y más que en esta historia pretendemos A la verdad mirar, no a los provechos, Ni vanas pretensiones, pues la nuestra Es daros, mi Señor, de verdad muestra.

Aqueste Inglés, y noble caballero Al arte de la mar era inclinado, Más era que piloto, y marinero, Porque era caballero, y buen soldado, Astuto era, sagaz, y muy artero, Discreto, cortesano, y bien criado, Magnánimo, valiente, y animoso, Afable, y amigable, y generoso." 30

This is unusual from an enemy to one who had done incalculable harm to the Spaniards, and who was with considerable reason regarded as a pirate. It is true that after these remarks Barco Centenera proceeds to take Drake to task for avarice, heresy, and other crimes, but he is clearly trying to show both sides of the matter.

III. MOHAMMEDANS

T. The Moors

Several narrative poems deal with the Moors of the centuries between the first invasion of Spain and the capture of Granada. During the sixteenth century are to be considered the Moors under Spanish rule, and the independent Moors of northern Africa. The poets that deal with the earlier periods are:

Vezilla Castellanos—The first attempts at reconquest; Valbuena—Incidental references; Espinosa—Incidental references; Ayllón—The career of the Cid; Cueva—The conquest of Seville;

³ Arauco domado, XVIII, 41.

³⁰ Argentina, XXII, 1 and 3.

Mesa—The battle of Navas de Tolosa; Díaz—The conquest of Granada.

The Moorish invasion of Spain was described as a punishment sent by God on account of the sins of Roderick and other Goths During the first centuries of their dominion in Spain the Moors. even in retrospect, receive the loathing visited by a weak people upon a more powerful one. They are accused of cruelty. The basis for hatred is political at least as much as it is religious. In later centuries when Moorish fortunes are declining, fear is replaced by contempt. Religious hatred becomes stronger and is more prominent than political jealousy, although the latter is evident. Charges of cruelty are relatively less prominent and accusations of cowardice and inertia are more emphasized. Respect for Moorish power is gone, but there is an appreciation of courage in individual Moors. Fear of Moorish control of Spain is entirely lost: toward the end we notice even some examples of sympathy with the Moors for the loss of cities such as Granada and Seville. The poets regard the whole reconquest as ordained by Providence in the interests of the Christian religion. The Spanish conquerors are conceived to have operated in the spirit of crusaders. Religious hatred is everywhere prominent. On the whole it is remarkable that a considerable number of cases are found in which there is some spirit of fairness toward the Moors.31

The Austriada, by Juan Rufo, deals with the Moors who lived in Spain in political dependence in the sixteenth century. The first eighteen cantos of this poem describe the Moorish rebellion of 1568–1571. The general attitude is similar to that in the accounts of the latter stages of Moorish sovereignty in Spain—religious hatred and contempt for a foe no longer able to struggle with Spain on something like equal terms. Many opprobrious epithets against the Moors are used by Rufo. Many expressions of dislike on religious grounds, many charges of cruelty, cowardice, and treachery are discovered. Spanish cruelty is admitted, but is tempered now and then by a policy of elemency.

³¹ It is hoped in the future to publish details of the attitude here summarized. The material is abundant. A brief summary is given here, because the treatment is not of contemporary enemies.

A new element in Rufo's poem is the treatment of the causes that led to the revolt of the Moors. It is admitted that there has been more or less unrest ever since the conquest of Granada. Despite contempt and hatred for the Moors, Rufo apparently tried to discuss dispassionately their reasons for revolution.

An account of the capture of Orán by Cardinal Ximénez is inserted as a vision in Osorio's continuation of the *Araucana*. The episode occupies two cantos. Osorio suggests the aims of the cardinal in the following words spoken by the Moorish general to his followers:

"Ya veis al enemigo en vuestra tierra, Que otra cosa ninguna no procura, Que tomarla en sangrienta, y fiera guerra." 32

Cardinal Ximénez accuses the Moors of shamelessness, insolence, ambition, and trouble-making. The Moorish general holds up to his followers the sweetness of fame, of liberty, and of their religion.³³

2. The Turks

On religious grounds, there is no difference to note in the attitude of the Spanish poets toward the Turks and the Moors. But outside of religion there are distinctions which correspond to the peculiar relations toward Spain of the Turks and Moors respectively. The Turks were not hereditary enemies of the Spaniards in the same sense that the Moors were. Remote geographical position resulted in little direct contact between the two peoples except in war. In the sixteenth century the Moors of Spain were a beaten and despised race, and the Moors of northern Africa, although they could annoy Spain by depredations at sea and by assisting Spain's enemies, were not regarded as a menace to national existence or even to national prosperity. On the other hand the Turks were regarded with the liveliest alarm by all Christian nations. There are references in the Spanish poets to the importance of opposing the Ottoman advance, and also of invading the enemy territory and capturing Jerusalem. One of the most notable references to this subject is the vision of the holy city revealed to Charles V when he was

² Osorio's Araucana, part 5, VIII, 94.

³³ Ibid., part 5, IX.

urged by a German embassy to undertake a species of Crusade against the Turks.34 Fear of Turkish domination is evident in the importance ascribed to the battle of Lepanto and in the joy and relief attendant upon that great victory. Of all the events of Spanish history not one was considered by the poets to be more glorious than the battle of Lepanto. We have a poem by Corte-Real devoted exclusively to the campaign that terminated in Lepanto: the last six cantos of Rufo's epic on Don John of Austria are devoted to the same theme, and Ercilla, in the midst of his Araucana, inserts a vision of the great sea battle. In the fourth canto of the Monserrate, Virués also inserts a vision of the battle. In the dedication of Corte-Real's poem to Philip II, we find the battle described as "un caso tan grande, una victoria tan peregrina: v con razón tan espantosa a todo el mundo." In the body of the poem Corte-Real emphasizes several times the great significance of Lepanto:

"Un caso famosísimo admirable:
Una victoria al mundo extraña y nueva:
Un suceso felice jamás visto
En trances arriscados y sangrientos,
Canto con alta voz, canto la fuerza,
El ímpetu furioso, osado, y fiero
De la Cristiana gente, el vencimiento
De la armada Otomana, aquí rendida." 35

Virués calls Lepanto "La victoria mayor que el mundo sabe." ³⁶ Aside from the battle of Lepanto, the poets dealing wholly or partly with the Turks are as follows:

Zapata—Incidental references; Sempere—Incidental references; Osorio—The Capture of Rhodes.

To the Turks are attributed the defects of cowardice, cruelty, envy, and pride. The accusations of cowardice are comparatively few and somewhat vague. Zapata writes that the Turks did not dare to give battle to Charles V in Hungary.³⁷ In discussing the same situation Sempere describes the fear of certain Turkish soldiers who had to be beaten by their officers.³⁸

³⁴ Carolea, part 2, XII and XIII.

^{*} Lepanto, I, 1; similar passages occur in other cantos.

³⁶ Monserrate, IV, 41.

⁸⁷ Carlo famoso, XXXV.

³⁸ Carolea, part 2, XVI.

Sempere states also, in agreement with Zapata, that the Turkish host fled when they heard of the organization and strength of

Charles's army.39

The Turks are charged by the Spanish poets with inhuman cruelty. Sempere's worst accusations occur toward the end of his poem where he says the Turkish Sultan wished the reputation "De no dejar en pie tierras ni gentes" 40 and adds that he cut the throats of four thousand Christian captives. 41 Zapata makes similar charges:

"No se ha hecho jamás cosa tan cruda, Ni nadie ensangrentó tanto las manos, Ni por reinar violó tanto el derecho, Como este Selín hizo, o crudo pecho." 42

Again (A Turkish Pasha is the subject):

"Crueldades cometió como una fiera, Los campos y los árboles talando, Y haciendo de la tierra una hoguera:" 48

Corte-Real adds his accusations:

"Estaba Solimán duro adversario, Universal tirano, crudo y fiero." 44

Elsewhere Corte-Real denounces the Turks for sacrilege in desecrating a statue of the Virgin Mary.⁴⁵ Likewise Rufo accuses the Turks of sacrilegious mistreatment of the effigy of the Virgin.⁴⁶ Osorio adds his quota to the collection of acts of Turkish cruelty.⁴⁷

Envy and pride are natural qualities to attribute to a powerful enemy. The poets felt that one of the results of Turkish pride and power was the desire to conquer the world. Such an ambition is more than once assigned to the Turkish leaders. Soliman addresses to Charles V a vainglorious letter

³⁹ Ibid., 2, XIX.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 2, XVII, 16.

⁴¹ Ibid., 2, XVII, 27.

[&]amp; Carlo famoso, III, 10, 4.

⁴³ Ibid., XXXV, 194, 17.

⁴⁴ Lepanto, VI, 88.

⁴⁵ Ibid., VIII, 116.

⁴⁶ Austriada, XX, 86 ff.

⁴⁷ Cf. Guerras de Malta, VII, folio 82.

in which he calls himself the successor of the emperors of Constantinople.⁴⁸ Zapata gives us a more direct reference:

"Que como el ambicioso tenía puesto
En señorear el mundo, el pensamiento."

Corte-Real, at the beginning of his poem on Lepanto, tells how the emperor Selim was timid and cared nothing about conquering the world. Corte-Real even calls this weakness. He describes how spirits come from hell to rouse Selim to a career of conquest against the Christians.⁵⁰ Corte-Real implies that the desire to subjugate the world was a natural one for a Turkish sultan.

With a combination of religious hatred and political competition we should not expect to find many instances of good feeling toward the Turks. We cannot even look for examples of comradeship and chivalric intercourse such as are noticeable in accounts of the Moors placed in the Middle Ages. However, from the great mass of hatred dictated by religious and racial prejudice, by fear, and by political jealousy, some instances of esteem and respect can be salvaged. There are some examples of Turkish justice. When Soliman marched upon Vienna he put to death a traitor who betrayed a town to him and rewarded the faithful man who defended it. Osorio describes an argument between the cruel Mustapha, who wished to kill Christian prisoners, and another Turkish leader Piali. Piali says:

"Por cierto, Mustafá, poca victoria, En hecho tan injusto has alcanzado, Y si piensas que así es mayor tu gloria, Has de saber que estás muy engañado, Que desta crueldad habrá memoria, En cuanto diere luz el sol dorado, Pues dirán que a los flacos muerte diste, Porque vencer los fuertes no podiste." ⁸²

Zapata describes the same circumstance referred to by Sempere about punishing the traitor and sparing the enemy:

⁴⁸ Carolea, part 2, canto XV.

⁴⁹ Carlo famoso, XVIII, 94, 14.

⁸⁰ One among many examples where the infernal powers aid the enemies of Spain.

⁵¹ Carolea, part 2, I, 43.

¹⁰ Guerras de Malta, VII, 83, 4.

"Pero esto hizo bien el Turco fiero, No en todas cosas cruel, no en todo injusto." ⁵⁸

Corte-Real also mentions instances of Turkish humanity. But of the good qualities allowed to the Turks the most conspicuous is courage. Despite some references to cowardice and especially to fear of Spain, there is acknowledgment of Turkish valor. The Turks must sometimes fight under the shadow of divine displeasure and unfavorable omens. Nevertheless they face the issue with boldness. Osorio recognizes great valor in the Turkish general Ali Pasha. Zapata refers to the Turks as "bravíssimos guerreros." Sempere, Rufo, and Corte-Real add their tribute to courage, persistence, and might in the ranks of the foe.

One circumstance should here be mentioned that has not been touched upon in discussion of other enemies of Spain. That is the attribution of enormous forces to the enemy in order the more worthily to celebrate the exploits of the army of the fatherland. This is hardly noticeable in accounts of the French; it is not particularly stressed in relations with the English; it is evident in the accounts of wars with the Moors; but nowhere does it reach the extent shown in descriptions of contests with the Turks. In the first and second cantos of the second part of the *Carolea*, Sempere mentions the *innumerable host* of Turks as 300,000 men, and those of Charles V as a little more than 100,000.⁵⁶ In the poems on the battle of Lepanto, there is no obvious attempt to make the Turkish fleet very much greater than the Christian.

IV. AMERICAN INDIANS

The conquest of Mexico is narrated in the Mexicana by Lasso de la Vega, and in El Peregrino indiano by Saavedra Guzmán; the conquest of Peru in the anonymous Conquista de la Nueva Castilla and, as an episode, in Osorio's Araucana; the wars with the Araucanian Indians in Chile are set forth in Ercilla's Araucana, in Osorio's Araucana, and in Oña's Arauca

⁵⁸ Carlo famoso, XXXII, 175, 19.

⁶⁴ Cf. Austriada, canto XXII.

⁸⁶ Guerras de Malta, I, 4 and 5. ⁸⁶ Carlo famoso, XXXIV.

domado; later troubles in Chile are narrated in Álvarez de Toledo's Purén indómito; the settlement of Argentina is the subject of Barco Centenera's Argentina y la conquista del Río de la Plata; miscellaneous adventures beginning with the discovery by Columbus are detailed in Juan de Castellanos's Elegías de varones ilustres de Indias.

No better introduction can be found to the study of the Spanish attitude toward the Indians than the prologue to Ercilla's Araucana. The generous spirit of appreciation there exemplified set a standard for later poets. Ercilla was impressed by the fortitude of the Araucanians, and he made their leaders the central characters of his epic. There is comparatively little interest in the doings of individual Spaniards.⁵⁷ Making allowance for the fact that the poets sometimes exercised their rhetorical ingenuity to portray the heroism of their foes, and that eulogies of Indian patriotism, persistence and valor became conventional, it remains true that in Ercilla and his imitators are found some noble tributes to an enemy immeasurably inferior in civilization, arms, and resources.

As a horrible example the Spaniards cut off the hands of an Indian captive Galvarino. He offers them his throat with the following remark:

"Segad esa garganta
Siempre sedienta de la sangre vuestra;
Que no temo la muerte, ni me espanta
Vuestra amenaza y rigurosa muestra;
Y la importancia y pérdida no es tanta
Que haga falta mi cortada destra,
Pues quedan otras muchas esforzadas
Que saben gobernar bien sus espadas." 88

Galvarino is despatched to the Araucanian headquarters to counsel surrender, but he exhorts to battle. He says that the Spaniards are hypocritical when they claim that they wish to spread the Christian religion; what they want is gold; they are more guilty than other races of adultery, theft, and insolence.⁵⁹

⁸⁷ Ercilla's grudge against the Spanish commander García Hurtado de Mendoza is well known, and accounts partly, but only partly, for the prominence of the Indians.

¹⁸ Araucana, XXII, 47.
¹⁹ A still stronger denunciation of the Spaniards is found in Álvarez de Toledo's Purén indómito.

When the Spaniards finally put Galvarino to death, he continues to the last obdurate and heroic, and chides one of his comrades who shows signs of weakening. He addresses his executioners as follows:

> "¡Oh gentes fementidas, detestables, Indignas de la gloria deste día! Hartad vuestras gargantas insaciables En esta aborrecida sangre mía: Que aunque los fieros hados variables Trastornen la araucana monarquía, Muertos podremos ser, mas no vencidos Ni los ánimos libres oprimidos." ⁶⁰

Rengo, Tucapel and Orompel refuse to attack the Spaniards by stealth. Here, of course, chivalrous qualities are assigned to them as if they were knights of the Round Table or of Charlemagne's court.

Osorio ascribes to the Indian heroes the same kind of desperate courage and determination noticed in the preceding examples from Ercilla. One example chosen from a great number will suffice. Millalauco, like Galvarino, has been tortured by the Spaniards. He defies them unhesitatingly, and among other things says:

"Vuestro enemigo soy, y aquí delante, Ya sin respecto, y sin temor lo digo, Ninguna cosa puede ser bastante, A no llamarme vuestro enemigo; Y lo que tengo dicho no os espante, Que pongo al Cielo Santo por testigo, Que la pena que llevo es por miraros, Y no poder vengarme, y acabaros." 61

Pedro de Oña likewise attributes to the Araucanians dauntless courage, fiery patriotism, and tireless endurance. He describes in heroic verses the adventures of Galvarino, narrated by Ercilla.⁶² He also introduces the other Indian heroes whom Ercilla has made familiar.

There is little effort to attribute to the Indians the gentler

⁶⁰ Araucana, XXVI, 25.

⁶¹ Osorio's Araucana, part 5, X, 47.

⁸² Arauco domado, XII, 16 to 44, and XVII, 29 to 52.

virtues. Idyllic love scenes between Lautaro and his bride in Ercilla, and between Tucapel and his beloved in Oña, cannot but seem incongruous. Especially is this true in the case of Tucapel, the most blood-thirsty of all the Indians. Another feature of the poems is the occasional appearance in distress of cultivated Indian maidens who call upon the gods of Greek and Roman mythology to assist them. The speeches of these maidens are of course absurd. Ercilla and others made use of poetic license to insert conventional fictions pleasing to their Renaissance readers in Spain.

Thus, with trifling exceptions, the qualities attributed to the Araucanians are virile. They often become ferocious. Ercilla was not so blind as to believe that the natives were merely honorable patriots. From personal experience he must have known that they were relentless enemies who would wage war without quarter. Indian cruelty is everywhere indicated. The following description of Lautaro's followers is an eloquent comment on their reputation:

"Los que Lautaro escoge son soldados Amigos de inquietud, facinerosos, En el duro trabajo ejercitados, Perversos, disolutos, sediciosos, A cualquiera maldad determinados, De presas y ganancias codiciosos, Homicidas, sangrientos, temerarios, Ladrones, bandoleros y cosarios." ⁶⁸

Examples could be repeated to show the savage ferocity of the Indians. They are also overweeningly proud. Absurdly enough Ercilla credits Caupolicán with the idea of invading Spain and attacking Christianity in its own home. Like Ariosto's Rodomonte and Tasso's Argante, Tucapel and Rengo are ready to fight on any occasion, against any odds, and against any foe, human or divine. There are occasional charges of treachery against the Indians, but they are not particularly emphatic.

In discussing cruelty the Spaniards are not hypocrites. They admit the performance by their own people of acts of

⁸³ Araucana, XI, 35.

fiendish cruelty. In Chile, as elsewhere in America, the approved policy is one of conciliation: but if, as in Araucania. that policy is unsuccessful, circumstances lead from one act of savagery to another, until the evil passions of men seem unrestrained. Any impartial reader would probably conclude from reading the Araucana that for his time Ercilla was a humane man, and that his protests against cruelty are genuine. was able to understand and denounce the faults of his fellow countrymen, just as he could observe and appreciate their virtues. An ardent Catholic, a seeker of adventures, an admirer of Philip II, a humane man, a sympathizer with his enemies, he was well qualified to write about the desperate struggles in which he took part. Of course he realized the superiority in civilization of the white man, and gloried in the achievements of his people, but this could not blind him to the arguments favoring the other side.

In many battles the Indians are represented as possessing enormously superior forces. Man to man, they are not considered equal to the Spaniards, partly because Spanish arms and armor are superior. In general Ercilla avoids the description of single combats between Spanish leaders and the most famous Araucanian warriors. Perhaps he wished to give the impression that the Spaniards were superior, but hesitated actually to describe the definite downfall of a renowned native fighter. The duel between Andrea and Rengo, as well as the duel between the two Indians, Tucapel and Rengo, ends without definite results, although in both cases Rengo is slightly the less fortunate warrior. Likewise Osorio and Oña avoid occasions on which the leading Araucanian heroes would be decisively worsted. It is only at the end of Osorio's Araucana that we read about an overwhelming Araucanian defeat in which the most famous warriors are overthrown. This battle, as well as others in Osorio's poem, seems to have little, if any, historical basis.

Pedro de Oña tried to make a hero out of Don García Hurtado de Mendoza, but he succeeded only partially. In other parts of the new world, individual Spanish heroes are more fortunate. In the anonymous Conquista de la Nueva Castilla

the Indians are shadowy figures. They are occasionally described as treacherous. The whole poem is a eulogy of Pizarro, who is described as an active and able man equal to any emergency. Instances of his cruelty are given; his capture of the Inca, and the subsequent death of the unfortunate Atahualpa are set forth without much comment. The conventional charge of irreligion against the Inca is made. Osorio had a better appreciation of the justice of Atahualpa's cause. He writes for the unfortunate monarch the following remarks addressed to Pizarro:

"Si es envidia la tuya, si es codicia, Refrena la pasión, y el apetito, Quitar la hacienda al dueño, no es justicia, Ni hay tal en el derecho, ni está escrito." ⁶⁴

Columbus and Cortés received eulogies similar to those showered upon Pizarro. The discovery of America seemed an event of transcendent importance, second only to the appearance of Christ on earth.65 The poets attributed to Columbus and to Cortés the desire to arrange matters peacefully. It was assumed that the Indians would be improved by Spanish rule and by Christianity. The Spanish soldiers were incited to deeds of bravery by various arguments. Fame, wealth, and the glory of the church were held before them as inducements. On several occasions Castellanos attributes to Columbus special instructions issued to his followers to insure fair treatment for the Indians. Of course a cultivated Spaniard could not fail to notice unpleasant elements in the primitive Indian life. Some of Columbus's own companions refer to these unpleasant matters, whereupon Columbus warmly defends the natives. He says that their shortcomings are due only to lack of opportunity, and that European nations cannot pride themselves on having reached a very advanced state of civilization:

> "¿Cuántos pueblos hay entre Cristianos Por Italia, por Francia, por España, Do no halléis lectores ni escribanos Ni pueden a las letras darse maña?

⁶⁴ Osorio's Arancana, part 5, XIV, 27.

⁶⁵ Castellanos, Elegías, I, I, canto 2, stanza 34.

Ved vuestros más vecinos y cercanos, Ved la rusticidad de la montaña: ¡Qué sería, si hoy están tan botos, Por siglos de memoria tan remotos!" 66

Lasso de la Vega and Saavedra Guzmán, in describing the expedition of Cortés, felt that they were narrating one of the great achievements of the Spanish race, which was fulfilling its destiny in a distant part of the world. In Mexico more than in any other part of the New World we notice in the poets the ideas of imperial and religious expansion. With rare exceptions (e.g., the Cacique of Tabasco in Lasso de la Vega and Guatemozin in Saavedra Guzmán), the individual Indians are of slight importance. There is an effort to arouse horror over barbarous customs such as heathenism, human sacrifices, and cannibalism.

In order to emphasize the significance of the conquest of Mexico, Lasso de la Vega and Saavedra Guzmán introduce mythology. They represent the city of Mexico as the last stronghold on earth of Pluto and other infernal spirits and

pagan deities against the advance of Christianity.

Lasso de la Vega does not attempt to deny to the Indians the possession of courage. His description of the chief of Tabasco is full of tributes to the heroism of the enemies' leader, who addresses his troops in the following stirring words:

> "De nuestra parte la razón tenemos, Que es la mayor de conseguir victoria, Ley, libertad, y hacienda defendemos, Ocasión de adquirir perpetua gloria." ⁶⁷

Appended to Lasso de la Vega's poem is an interesting defense of the Indians by Gerónimo Ramírez, the secretary of Cortés's grandson. It was written in answer to the accusation that Cortés won an empty victory because he fought against an untrained and superstitious enemy. Ramírez admits that the Indians were panic-stricken at their first sight of horses and when they first encountered artillery. However they soon became accustomed to Spanish ways of fighting, and despite their disadvantages proved to be redoubtable opponents. Not con-

⁵⁸ Elegias, I, 1, VI, 28.

⁶⁷ Mexicana, VI, 58.

fining himself to warlike qualities Ramírez paid the following tribute to the intellectual powers of the natives of Mexico:

"Échase de ver lo que los Indios de Cortés aprovecharan en las letras, si las aprendieran, y en las demás artes liberales, por lo que ahora se señalan en ellas sus descendientes, y en las demás cosas de Cristiandad, porque en nada son menores que los Españoles que allá habitan, ni en ejercer las artes mecánicas, ni en aprender letras, ni en policía y crianza."

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REVIEWS

Les Grands Ecrivains du XVIe Siècle—Rabelais et Marot, par Pierre Villey. Bibliothèque littéraire de la Renaissance: Nouvelle Série, Tome XI, Paris, Champion, 1923.

A reader interested in the French Renaissance will open a book by M. Villey with respect. From the time when, a young follower of Abel Lefranc, he first engaged in the fascinating task of elucidating the literary history of the French Renaissance, his work has been marked no less by coherence of plan than by a thoroughness and persistence to which the author's blindness gave a heroic cast. The volume under discussion offers no exception to the rule.

The introduction provides—as introductions do not always—the clue to the proposed treatment of the author's subject. The men of the Renaissance, possessed of an unmatched freedom of expression, unhampered by the uniformity of social life and education, by established genres or by the tyranny of a reading public, and exposed on every hand to new and stimulating ideas, were, more than those of any other time, subject to constant change in their ideas and in their points of view. The sixteenth century, however, so fertile in these ideas, was-so M. Villey thinks -a harbinger of light rather than a lightbringer. It prepared the world for the scientific spirit but was itself without it. It did not, for instance, until its very end, catch the implications of the great discoveries of Copernicus and of the great explorers. Excited by the revelations of antique life and thought, it merely substituted one authority for another. "En somme, le XVIe siècle n'apporte pas une vision nouvelle de l'univers, de l'homme, et de la nature; il retrouve seulement dans les livres des visions qu'en ont eues les anciens, et qui s'imposent à lui par le prestige de l'antiquité. Une autorité se substitue à l'autorité traditionelle . . . mais c'est encore une autorité."

However this sweeping generalisation may startle, there can be no disagreement with the other postulate of the introduction—that chronological, not static, study of an author's production sets him always in a fresh light and reveals his response to the varying stimuli of his time—so manifold in the sixteenth century. Perhaps, however, the reader may be inclined to quarrel with the implication of the entire originality of such a method.

Two authors are treated in the work—Marot and Rabelais; and it may be said at once that the chapters dealing with Marot are by far the best in the book. A biography and criticism of this charming poet was needed. The contribution of Guiffrey, so invaluable and so stimulating in its day, and indeed, up to the present, our main authority for the life of Marot and for his place on the poetic Parnassus, is incomplete. In Guiffrey's lifetime only the second volume of his work, Les Œuvres de Clément Marot, appeared, and what has been edited of the posthumous part of Guiffrey's work leaves much to be desired. M. Villey has quite admirably filled the gap. The biography makes quite clear what was already known, or what skilful erudition can establish, of Marot's life—his happy childhood and somewhat boisterous youth, his establishment at twenty-one as secretary to Marguerite

d'Angoulême, his early trifling with the "new" religious ideas, his imprisonment for

followed by his release by the King's grace, his love for Isabeau and for Anne—whose identity as a niece of Marguerite was first revealed by Abel Lefranc, and who was a love inaccessible in the nature of things. M. Villey establishes the dates of the verses which reveal these loves, and notes Marot's succession to his father's office in the service of Francis I, his journeys with the Court, retailed in verse both loyal and witty, and his constant efforts to establish and re-establish his position and his fortunes by poetic importunities, bold, exquisite shafts feathered with wit. Marot's official verses are given their proper chronology, as are also the robbery by his valet and the severe illness which followed, the immediate cause of his most famous poem, the Epitre au Roi pour avoir été dérobé. His growing fame is traced and his growing importance at court, and due weight is given to his first collection of poems, L'Adolescence Clémentine of 1532.

M. Villey deals very skilfully with Marot's gradual identification with the new religious ideas. At first he was "un partisan, nullement un apôtre," driven towards the evangelistic doctrines by "douleur, colère, pitié, ambiance," under the aegis of Marguerite of Navarre and even of Francis I. Marot's attitude in this respect led him, after the affair of the Placards in 1534, to escape from France to the polite court of Renée of France in Ferrara, from which court in turn he was obliged to flee to Venice, owing to the enmity of Renée's husband the Duke. His quarrels with Sagon, his recall in 1536, his flattering reception at Lyons, the formal abjuration which he found so bitter, and his triumphant re-establishment at Court are treated by M. Villey in an interesting manner, as are also his new travels in the train of Marguerite of Navarre and of the King. Marot, who was careful to expurgate from the official edition of his works poems offensive to authority, received from Francis I the gift of a house.

M. Villey shows that Marot was even—half ignorant as he was—accepted into the notable group of humanists with Dolet at their head, formed by Budé, Danès, Bérauld, Toussain, Macrin, Bourbon and Rabelais. Endowed with semi-learned repute, he set about his translation of the Psalms in 1537. Although these were not published until 1541, he had, by 1539, completed thirty and offered them to the King. Just at the moment, 1541, when he did publish, Dolet brought out his L'Enfer, and at that juncture persecution was revived. Marot, partly because he felt himself compromised by the fact that his Psalms, enthusiastically received at Court, were with no less enthusiasm adopted by heretics, went away afraid—perhaps first to Savoy, certainly to Geneva, where Calvin eagerly demanded more Psalms. Marot, however, never sympathetic with the Geneva atmosphere, felt that it was for the King that he was making his translations. As a fact, he left Geneva, rather than be summoned for playing tric-trac. His exile took him once more to Savoy, and also to Piedmont, where the French Army was at that time engaged and where he must have found many friends; and there, in September, 1544, he died.

The development of Marot's powers and of his markedly individual style is as skilfully traced by M. Villey as is his biography. It had its roots in his childish education, such as it was, which resulted in a "divine ignorance peut-être nécessaire à son originalité." A style in itself popular, and depending directly upon experiences—always a great element of Marot's genius—its individuality was clear even in early poems written during his idle apprenticeship as a youthful page. Marot's early and very bad translation of the first Eclogue of Virgil and his translation of a translation of Lucian's Judgement of Minos, which, with small regard for exactness, he prepared as an offering for Francis I, showed interests of a different kind, as on the other hand his adherence to the Grands Rhétoriqueurs was evident in another

offering to the new king—the Temple de Cupido. M. Villey traces the provenience of this poem, directly inspired by the Roman de la Rose and by Jean Lemaire des Belges. Although, even for a general reader, editions of Marot are by no means abstruse, he is at pains to describe with some fulness the contents of the poem. M. Villey notes also the influence of Marot's father upon his work of this period, and, among the Rhétoriqueurs, of the Grébans, Coquillart, Molinet, Chastellain, and Alain Chartier. He points out how closely, at this point of his development, Marot keeps to the genres made famous by these poets—Rondeaux, Ballades, and the

difficult Chants Royaux.

However, if following the Rhétoriqueurs got Marot to the King's Court, it was that very Court-perhaps because it was the one Court in Europe where women were most considered—which emancipated him from their style and led him to form a new one with short poems dealing in clear and plain French words with things courtiers and ladies could understand-love chief among these. A great singularity in a disciple of the Rhétoriqueurs is the personal topics—"les menues aventures de sa vie et les sentiments que leur choc fera naître en lui"-of which Marot makes use as subjects of these short poems. The habit of doing this gave a very individual touch to his style. A famous example is the Epstre à Lion Jamet where "du premier coup il a donné un chef-d'œuvre," and the manner reached its height in the famous Epître au Roi pour avoir été dérobé (1532). These brief poems took the form of Elégies, familiar Epîtres, or short Billets later named Epigrammes. Whatever his individuality, Marot never completely shook off the old traditions, even though the influence of Mellin de Saint-Gelais and, indirectly, through him of Italy (for Marot did not go to Italy in 1524 as usually supposed but only in 1536) altered his style and led to some early coquetting with Latin poets, classic and modern, which later, as a result of contact with modern Latin poets at Court, developed, contrary to common opinion, into a considerable knowledge of the Latin classics.

Taking the Temple de Cupido as a starting point, M. Villey traces the gradual sloughing off of the old genres through the Chants Royaux, which fell into disuse with Marot about 1530, the Ballades of which, with the exception of four so-called Chants, the latest was written in 1532, and the Rondeaux, of which he wrote one, but one only, as late as 1540, until, in the collection of pieces written between 1533 and 1538, and offered to Montmorency in 1538, there are, among the 140 pieces, no Chants Royaux, no Ballades, and but one Rondeau. Epitres, Elégies and above all Epigrammes are in the great majority. The renewal and development of these forms by Marot is adequately discussed. The traditional form and material of the Epstre was transformed by the poet into a personal poem, couched in ordinary words and popular locutions, simple, ingenuous, discreet, marked by wit and restrained feeling, yet full of extraordinary life, especially when begging for favors forms its main theme. The Epttre, which increased markedly in the poet's work from 1524 to 1534, developed in the end into a "causerie légère à la manière des gens du monde," a typical manifestation of French genius-M. Villey thinks Birch-Hirschfeld mistaken in considering it an imitation of Horace-appropriated later by such pure Gallic geniuses as La Fontaine, Voltaire and Musset. The Elégie, coaxing, gently melancholic, rather slight in subject and essentially of the Court, excelling in the badinage of light and graceful love, is touched, as Marot develops the genre, with preciosity which M. Villey feels to be derived almost exclusively from the tradition of chivalry. The Rondeau became in Marot's hands a form of great delicacy and careful technique, abandoned, however, after 1527 because of the poet's increasing preference for classic forms and because its artificiality restricted the subject matter and suited ill with his desire to release the art of poetry from difficulty and fit the form to the matter. The *Epigramme*, a slight form of extreme simplicity pointed by surprise, was thus arrived at and carried to an almost classic perfection, nearly always cast in the form of the *dixain* or *octave*.

M. Villey, unlike other critics, even while admitting possible Italian influence in the sentiment and ideas, if not in the form of the Epigramme, sees no relation between the increasing number of Marot's octaves (1527-1532) and the Italian vogue of Strambotti, as he saw nothing Italian in the preciosity of Marot's Elégies. Why M. Villey should make such assertions about the development of these forms at a time when the infiltration of Italian modes was certainly beginning is not quite clear; and he offers no evidence beyond an opinion. On the other hand, the inspiration of the Latin poets is admittedly clear in the Epigrammes, and M. Villey makes the admirable point that Marot found himself in competition with the modern Latin poets, offering to the King a similar homage and treating similar subjects. Students of the sixteenth century may well be grateful to him also for his remarks. in another connection, on the influence of modern Latin poets on the literature of the sixteenth century. It has been too little observed. After Marot's Italian journey (1537-1538), the classic influence naturally increased, to the greater perfection of the Epigramme. It was then that Marot, for the first time, gave that name to these little pieces. The Eglogue was less of an innovation than the Epigramme. Lemaire and Crétin, for example, had made use of this form. Marot's contribution was a close imitation of Virgil, and it was thanks to him that Eglogues on the classic model had their vogue in France; but his real innovation lay in combining in the Eglogue classic and mediaeval tradition, as, for example, in the familiar Pan et Robin. The modern personal touch he imports into his translations and imitations is in strong contrast with the deliberate classicism and exoticism of the Pléiade. On the other hand, holding closely as he does to national tradition in subject and, to a great extent, in form, he differs from his predecessors in directing his efforts, not to the conquest of the difficulties of versification, but to the achievement of a correct tone, of elegance, clarity and precision. To this end he corrected much and carefully.

M. Villey makes convincingly clear Marot's place between the Schools that preceded and that followed him, as shown by his use of the genres discussed. Before Sébilet, no theorist of poetics mentions Eptires, Elégies or what became the Epigramme (with one insignificant exception for the Eptire); Sébilet, when he mentions these three genres, always names Marot who naturalised them as it were; du Bellay, on the other hand, has no word of praise for any except one single piece of Marot's—L'Eglogue sur la naissance du fils du Monsieur le Dauphin—which is not in Marot's usual manner.

M. Villey notes the increasing refinement of Marot's Muse under Italian influence, after his flight to Ferrara in 1534, where the Strambottist Sassoferato gave him the idea of his famous Blason, Du beau Tétin. Blasons were not new to the French poets, but Blasons of the female body were so; and Marot it was who gave them a vogue which ended in a regular joust of poetry with the Court of Ferrara as tribunal. Marot's revival of the Coq à l'Ane created almost as eager a fashion. A greater, yet unrealised, innovation was the Sonnet, of which Marot, thinks M. Villey, and not Saint-Gelais, wrote the first, but neither Marot nor his public gave it much importance,—"il n'en soupçonna pas la valeur esthétique." They regarded it merely as a kind of Epigramme. In any case the difficulties of its structure had no attractions for a poet who had emancipated himself from the difficult forms of the Rhétoriqueurs.

M. Villey dwells upon the development of Marot's power of religious expression and of invective, brought about by his sufferings for a religion to which he was naturally indifferent. He rose, in one instance at least, to real heights of religious feeling. His Eptire à François I and Eptire à Marguerite, complaining of the exile which was his martyrdom, are servile imitations of Ovid, which, in their wholesale absorption of the original, anticipate the theories of the Pléiade. But the characteristic contrast between the attitude of Marot in his generation and that of the Pléiade is that the preoccupation of the former with the Classics never caused him to scorn national models, as the Pléiade did.

The chief literary interest of Marot's last years lay in his effort to give to France a lyric poetry which could be sung to music. Partly owing to the favor of the musicians at Court, popularity rewarded Marot's Chansons and Cantiques, composed in the more stereotyped forms. With his translation of the Psalms, he plunged into a new form, simpler than those older ones he had discarded, but of astounding structural variety, and inaugurated a vogue of quatrains and sizains which became characteristic of French lyric poetry.

"Ainsi après avoir abandonné jadis les rimes équivoquées, couronnées, battelées, les rimes répetées au début du vers suivant (voir chansons I et III), Marot maintenant en venait à donner au quatrain et au sizain cette place absolument prépondérante qu'ils auront dans notre lyrisme classique; au lieu de moins de 20% dans les chansons, 78% dans les psaumes, même 82% en y joignant les dizains de forme classique qui sont constitués de l'adjonction d'un quatrain et d'un sizain."

In the fifty Psalms there are forty-one different rhythmic arrangements. However striking this play of strophic combinations, Marot "ne l'a nullement inventé; il l'a seulement retrouvé." It was the result of adapting verse to already existing tunes.

M. Villey has an interesting chapter on the influence of Marot as a man both of the national tradition and of the Renaissance, a poet whose first care is for artistic perfection. His simple art springs from a very cultivated taste, which lent itself to the foreign influence of the Renaissance sufficiently to revivify the national vein. "Entre deux poussées de pédantisme,-le pédantisme scolastique des rhétoriqueurs et le pédantisme antiquisant de la Pléiade-c'est la fine fleur française qui s'épanouit dans son œuvre." The posthumous influence of Marot was great, despite the mixture in the poet of mysticism and loose manners which led both Protestants and Catholics to sully his memory; and M. Villey traces it through the sixteenth century when "tout l'éclat de la Renaissance n'a pas suffi à éclipser sa réputation," through the Classic period when he alone of his century remained uneclipsed, through the eighteenth century when Marot was the first of his contemporaries to be reprinted, and when the artificial "Marotic" style, which was not his, borrowed its elements from him. In the nineteenth century, the Romantic movement obscured Marot in the shadow of Ronsard; and later reactions in his favor have-so M. Villey opines -lacked judgment. Marot's real place, according to this critic, is that of "une première esquisse de La Fontaine, de Voltaire et du Musset des contes badins."

The chapters on Marot are much strengthened by the chronological tables of

his individual poems and of his life, included in the Appendix.

The second part of the book, concerned with Rabelais, constitutes less of a contribution to the history of French literature than the first. True, it deals with the biography of Rabelais and the bibliography of his works in the orderly and progressive manner which is the author's own. It presents the facts and expresses well-digested opinions upon the controversial topics which present themselves in such numbers in the writings of the man of whom M. Villey says justly enough:

"Il attire ou il repousse,—presque toujours avec violence," whose work, "par son étrangeté, a dérouté la critique et donne lieu aux interprétations les plus variées."

But the material of M. Villey is not new. He arranges it; he has not discovered it.

The biographical material has been carefully elucidated during the course of this century by Abel Lefranc and his pupils, of whom M. Villey is indeed reputed one; and the Etude sur le Gargantua, which forms the preface to what M. Villey rightly calls "the magnificent edition of M. Abel Lefranc and his collaborators," has already in fact provided the reading public with a brilliant and well-documented biography and criticism. The name of Abel Lefranc is as much connected with Rabelais as is that of Gaston Paris with French literature of the Middle Ages. M. Villey makes free use of his master's brilliant discoveries and writings, but makesbeyond the reference noted and one other citation-practically no acknowledgment, perhaps because he feels it needless to remark on a debt so easily recognised that it may be taken for granted, or feels that the work of an acknowledged master soon becomes too literally "la chair, les os, les nerfs et le sang" of his contemporaries, to need acknowledgment. Still, such reticence as M. Villey's is excessive when whole pages derive from the work of others and no word is said. The discussion on the meaning of the name of Pantagruel (p. 170), the pages on the question of the marriage of Pantagruel and its relation to the well-known debate on the worth or unworth of women (p. 248), those on the navigations of Pantagruel (p. 284), and on the background of reality behind the incidents of the Gargantua (pp. 205 and 207), are, to take but a few examples, simply a restatement of the results, researches and opinions of Abel Lefranc. When M. Villey does mention the outstanding master of his own subject, it is to disagree with him; and the frequency of this disagreement tends in itself to shed an unpleasant light upon the omission of proper acknowledgment. In one notable instance—a discussion of Rabelais's true philosophy (p. 189)—M. Villey seems not even to have read the article with which he feels himself in disagreement. In another, where he debates the question of the authenticity of the Fifth Book, he states the grounds on which he disagrees as if these had been established by M. Boulenger, followed by Mr. Tilley and Mr. Smith. The name of Abel Lefranc occurs only as of necessity, in a note as co-author of L'Ile Sonnante. Now the rescue of the Fifth Book from the limbo of completely spurious works was a notorious tour de force in the world of erudition concerned with the Renaissance. Abel Lefranc was the innovator who converted to his theories previous doubters like Gaston Paris and previous opponents like Plattard and Huguet.

The reader, coming upon these evidences of unacknowledged sources, becomes doubtful of the value of the whole work. Yet value is there. The work is extremely painstaking, clear and well arranged, and a reader on his guard as to its sources will prize it for its picture of Rabelais, his work and his times, and for its judicious criticism. The biography and criticism are skilfully interwoven and skilfully presented. The biographical thread, although none of the material and ideas gathered by Abel Lefranc and the other Rabelaisants of the Revue du Seisième Siècle has been neglected, must in the nature of things be a tenuous one, but it is steadily developed. Thirteen chapter headings indicate the union of biography and criticism—beginning with Rabelais avant le Pantagruel and ending with Le Cinquième Livre and L'Art de conter. The fourteenth chapter concludes the whole matter by a satisfactory account of the destiny of the books from their own time to the present in the various European centres of intellectual culture. A Chronologie de Rabelais forms a useful appendage.

If the book borrows much from the results of recent erudition, it contains suffi-

cient acute observation to establish the author's own original powers and shrewd critical faculty, as in the description of the scientific group of the Renaissanceso small and so alloyed with folly: "la folie d'un Paracelse y coudoie le génie de Paré et elle ne se recrute guère que parmi les ignorants, tant la science, comme par une fatalité, entraîne alors la superstition de l'antiquité" (p. 162)-or in the reference to the ruthless contempt of the immediate past felt by the amateurs of ancient literature.

"Un sentiment est commun à tous ces hommes chez qui la lecture des anciens a déguisé la vue critique, c'est le mépris de l'époque qui les a précédés et de toutes les survenances par lesquelles elle se prolonge parmi eux. Ils prétendent secouer le legs d'ignorance qu'ils ont hérité de ces temps de barbare, en pourchasser la trace dans toutes les formes de l'activité et de la connaissance, et, remontant par-délà tout le Moyen-Age, retrouver chez les anciens la source pure de leurs institutions et du savoir humain."

The book contains, it must be said, evidences of surprising carelessness in proof-reading. There should be no place in a work of careful criticism for the repetition of a line, as on page 295, or for such a sentence as the following: "S'il ne rencontre que par accident la haute inspiration religieuse, et si sa satire sable, mais encore sans doute le souci de la cour, et la pensée que des Sagon sont toujours prêts à profiter de ses imprudences pour lui en fermer à jamais la porte" (p. 97). But in spite of occasional carelessness, in spite of the marked inferiority of the second to the first half of the book, the chapters of Marot alone fit it to be an important item in any library rich in sixteenth century material.

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Atlas linguistic de Catalunya. Per A. Griera. Barcelona, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1923, vol. I,1 Abans d'ahir-avui; 1924, vol. II, la barbarota-el canó; vol. III, cansat-les crosses.

The linguistic atlas of France (Atlas linguistique de la France) which Jules Gilliéron and E. Edmont began publishing in 1902 undoubtedly gave a powerful impulse to the vivification of Romance and especially to French linguistic studies. The investigations of M. Gilliéron and his pupils resulting from the speech-charts of the Atlas linguistique gave a new interest to problems which had appeared solved. From new standpoints they took up once more questions of principles and opened to linguistic science ways up to then untrodden.3

But whoever makes use of the linguistic atlas covering France as well as the French speech area belonging to either Belgium or Switzerland knows how often and how deeply he must feel the lack of equally thorough atlases for the countries surrounding France. The publication of a linguistic atlas of Italy and Spain would be invaluable for the recognition and solution of all such linguistic problems as, stretching beyond the French speech territory, touch both Italy and Spain. With regard to the linguistic atlas illustrative of the Raetian and Italian dialects of Switzerland as well as a great part of Upper Italy, the reader may find a broad outline in an article by K.

¹ Each volume comprises 187 charts and is sold at 70 pesetas.

² For a concise, admirable and thoughtful exposé of the results of Jules Gilliéron's method see Jaberg, *Romania* XLVI, 121–135; for a wider public, an outline of the methods of linguistic geography and their results was given in Albert Dauzat, *La Chamachia linguistic geography* and their results was given in Albert Dauzat, La Géographie linguistique, Paris, 1921.

Jaberg and J. Jud in the ROMANIC REVIEW, 1923, 249-264. As for the Iberic peninsula we are today in possession of a first fascicule of the Catalan linguistic atlas which is being published by the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans*. This publication is the outstanding work of one explorer, a member of the *Institut* who for ten years has been devoting himself wholly to this task: Antoni Griera.

The editor's name is well known to linguists: A. Griera is the director of the Bulleti de dialectologia catalana,³ the most important publication for Catalan linguistics, and the number of collaborators and friends of which he has never failed to increase. He is the founder and director of a boldly conceived dictionary of the Catalan dialects which will soon be ready for publication; and finally, following the example of the Atlas linguistique de la France he began work on a linguistic atlas for the Catalan speech domain of which three fascicules are already published (the end of August 1924).

Griera travelled on foot through the whole of the Catalan speech area; and availing himself of a questionnaire of about 3,000 questions, recorded phonetically the dialectic correspondences for a number of ideas in certain localities. So, for instance, in 105 places of the Catalan speech domain he put the following questions before the dialect speakers: How do you express in your dialect the following Catalan phrases: el foc 'apaga (the fire goes out); apagar el foc (to extinguish the fire); atiar el foc (to poke the fire); el tió, els tions (blazes); el tió de Nadal (bache de Noël); bufar el foc (to blow up the fire). Thus for s'apagar (to extinguish the fire) he received the answers: apagar, morir, acabar, amortar with their phonetical variants.

The result of this enquiry is made accessible to science in the following manner: on a chart of Catalonia the places where Griera recorded a dialect in its completeness are numbered (e.g., Girona is no. 36, Barcelona is no. 68). Each chart contains all the answers of the "sujets" to one question: thus for el foc s'apaga the chart shows the answers Griera received and noted down: no. 3 (Bosost) records for "the fire goes out" s'ămòriê; no. 6 (Esterri): s'ăpâgê; no. 32 (Sant Hilari Sacalin) epâge, ez mòr; no. 82 (Gandía) s'akâba, es pâgā. It is therefore possible to see at a glance which part of Catalonia uses apagar for "to extinguish the fire"; and which akabar; and thus we can see forthwith the number of synonyms for the idea "to extinguish the fire" scattered over the Catalan speech area. The linguistic atlas of Catalonia is a magnificent means for research work; and no library or seminary where the Ibero-Romance linguistics occupy the place due to them should be without it.

At first sight the three initial fascicules of the volume are very inspiring to the scientist; let it suffice to indicate here only a few of the problems which arise from the abundance of the material:

(1) Relation of literary Catalan to the dialects: e.g., chart abans d'ahir, "the day before yesterday." Literary Catalan has abans d'ahir for this expression; the chart in the atlas shows that there is only one place (no. 103) with abans d'ahir, the overwhelming majority of the places use: despus d'ahir, corresponding to a Latin formation de post heri (cf. O. Ital. postieri): so the Catalan opposes to despuès demà,

³ Issued by the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans*. First published in 1914 it has today reached the 11th vol.; for the contents of the first 3 vols., cf. *Romania*, XLIV, 289, and XLV, 568; for the contents of the first 6 vols., cf. W. Wartburg, *Archivum Romanicum*, VI. 262, or F. Krüger, ZRPh., XLI, 711.

and XLV, 508; for the contents of the first 6 vols., cf. W. Wartburg, Archivum Romanicum, VI, 262, or F. Krüger, ZRPh., XLI, 711.

⁴ The territory investigated by Griera includes the whole of the Catalan speech area in Catalonia (provinces of Llérida, Girona, Barcelona, Tarragona, Baleares) and Valencia (Alicante, Valencia, Castellò de la Plana) as well as Roussillon in France and Alghero in Sardinia. Besides this, Griera recorded also the Val d'Aran which is Gascon and some places on the boundaries of Aragon.

"the day after to-morrow" (< de post demane), a formation de post heri, and thus shows itself independent of Spanish antes de ayer and French avant-hier. But how is the literary abans d'ahir to be explained? As a translation of the Spanish antes de ayer? And will the literary abans d'ahir be victorious over the popular despus d'ahir, or will the popular despus d'ahir, used even in Barceloua, the capital, invade the domain of

the literary abans d'ahir? 5

- (2) Phonetic division of Catalonia: From A. Griera's monographs El català oriental, El català occidental, El valencià, el rossellonés, el dialecto belearic (Contribuciò a una dialectologia catalana, Bulletí de dial. cat. viii, ix) we know already the phonetic and morphological characteristics of the four main dialectal groups of Catalonia; but the atlas also enables us to follow each phenomenon in its minute details and ramifications on the chart, and thus to gain an extraordinarily plastic picture of the dialectal divisions of the country. One of the characteristic phonetic peculiarities contrasting East Catalan (centre Barcelona) to West Catalan (centre Lleyda, Lérida) is the coincidence of pretonic a and e in a (a sound resembling the e in French me): Kəbal < caballu; ənà: anar, "to go away"; trəbə á < tripaliare, "to work"; jəlādə, "gelée." The Western Catalan, on the other hand, makes a distinction between the two pretonic vowels a and e: serbel: cerebellu against madera, "biga" < materia. If we happen to compare the charts ahir "yesterday" and agost "August" (with pretonic a-), we shall not fail to notice that the reduction of a > a is wavering in the boundary zone between the Western and the Eastern Catalan territories; No. 9 (Andorra) reduces pretonic a to a in Catalan agost, air (yesterday), agrait (grateful), abeurar (to water), but keeps a in the pronunciation of agulla, abeurador, abella. On the other hand no. 8 (Seu d'Urgell) pronounces pretonic a as a in agost, air, agrait, abeurar, but gives the pronunciation a in abella, agulla; no. 53, it seems, gives agost, but in every other case a: e.g., agulla, air, agrait, abeurar, abeurador, abella. Thus there lies a more or less extensive transitory zone between the Eastern Catalan (centre Barcelona) and the Western Catalan (centre Lérida), where Eastern and Western Catalan manifestly meet and influence each other.
- (3) Phonetic Problems. In the above-mentioned sketch of the dialects of Catalonia A. Griera points out that in Eastern Catalan the fall of pretonic a is characteristic: bril < aprile, gost < augustu. Anyone casting a glance at the chart of the Catalan atlas will realize a world of phenomena which proves to be more complicated; no. 6 (Esterri) shows very often the fall of initial a in masculine nouns: gost < augustu, genollar < agenouiller (to kneel down), failar < afailar < afactare, marga instead of amarga, "bitter"; but why then abraçar and not braçar? Within the Eastern Catalan domain, where pretonic a and e coincide in 2, certain numbers (37, 54, 65, 67) present a much greater variety of examples showing the fall of initial a than others (e.g., nos. 26, 27, 29). Why this difference? Why is ser, 'acier' (steel) used in almost the whole of the Eastern Catalan territory, even where no examples of the fall of pretonic a can be found?

(4) Expansion of the Catalan of Barcelona: Eastern Catalan (centre Barcelona) uses for the first person plural the ending -em, and second person plural -eu (cantem < cantamus, canteu < cantatis) while in Western Catalan we have for the first person plural -am, second person plural -au (cantam, cantau): chart 391, cantem shows, however, that cantam still lingers, but in a very narrow belt (nos. 6, 5, 21, 55, 56, 58). Yet to the literary Catalan cantem offers determined opposition, e.g., (1) French

⁵ The fact that Alghero in Sardinia (no. 105) says abans d'ahir proves little, for often the "sujet" in Alghero is more influenced by the literary Catalan than those of the Catalan continent. In fact, Alghero is more "purist" than is the capital, Barcelona.

Roussillon which lies outside the influence of Barcelona, and (2) the Baleares which are conservative in linguistic matters and where only kontam is known. So we can actually follow the linguistic unification of Catalonia: there are only the peripheric domains of Roussillon and the Baleares which present the last defences of provincial linguistic autonomy.

(5) Lexical influence of Castilian and French. In one part of the Catalan speech domain (Roussillon) French alone is recognized as the literary language; 6 while in the greater part of the Catalan-Valencian speech area the authorities recognize only Spanish as the literary language. In accordance with this fact foreign lexical elements are invading Catalan from North and West, the progress of which can very easily be traced on the atlas.7

Thus in chart 411 capsa de carteró, the French botte penetrated by two different routes: through Val d'Aran as bweta, through Roussillon as bwata in the later phonetic form. In chart 430 carreter, "cartwright," Roussillon as well as no. 1 in Val d'Aran show French charron against Catalan carreter, and the same area uses for Catalan carreto French brouette. French schools introduce the French cahier whereas in Catalan they say cartipaç, which latter is probably the Spanish cartapacio.

Characteristic of the influence of literary French, Spanish as well as Italian on the boundary zones of Catalonia, is the chart cinquagesima, "Whitsuntide." During the Middle Ages the whole of the Iberic peninsula called the Christian feast of Whitsuntide quinquagesima, cinquagesima (cf. quinque > cinque): Gallician cincuesma, Old Spanish cincuaesma, Old Catalan cincogesma. Today in Portugal as well as Spain pentecostes triumphs as the name for Whitsuntide, besides which there exists a popular expression pascua granada (granado, "celebrated, great, famous"). The Northern Catalan dioceses cling obstinately to sincogesma, but already cincogesma has entirely disappeared from the Valencian, the South of Catalonia (dioceses Tarragona, Lleida, Tortosa), and it intrudes in places of Northern Catalonia. As the literary Catalon also adopted pasqua granada in place of the indigenous cincogesma, the complete disappearance of cincogesma is but a question of time. From the north the French (Languedoc) pentecusta is penetrating into Val d'Aran and Roussillon.8 At Alghero (Sardinia) Pasqua de flors ("Pâque fleurie") is alone heard, this being a copy of the Sardinian (Logudoro: Pascha de fiores).

Thus from each chart of the Catalan speech atlas the investigator can read a

⁶ The thousands of Catalan labourers who work during the summer in the

vineyards of Southern France also learn more or less French.

Nos. 3 and 4 (Val d'Aran), belonging linguistically to Gascony, but politically to Spain, are of course more subject to French influence owing to the proximity of Gascony (Bordeaux) than the Catalan territory on the southern side of the Pyrenees (e.g., bidon, "jar," chart 396, only in no. 3).

8 Obviously it is sometimes difficult to decide whether Roussillon borrowed from

Languedoc or had been preserving a word which once might have belonged also to Old Catalan: on chart 396 (cantir, "jar") nos. 100, 103 (Pyrénées-Orientales) say durko for a jar which might be borrowed from Languedoc dourco or continue the Old Catalan dorca (cf. Angilo dorca).

9 I wish to lay before the author some desiderata:

(1) Table of concordances of the headings of the French charts and those of the Catalan charts.

(2) Exact definitions of the Catalan words, which he had in mind while questioning the "sujet." For instance, did the "sujets" understand the meaning of Catalan canyet, "place where bodies of horses are thrown," or did they not rather take it in the general meaning of the French voirie, "place where the refuse or carages is thrown."

"place where the refuse or garbage is thrown"?

(3) A note on the cases where the "sujets" misunderstood the explorer's question. more than once.

chapter of Catalonia's and Valencia's linguistic history as well as of the history of the civilization and ecclesiastical organization of each country. Indeed, there is sufficient reason to give warm thanks to the untiring and courageous scholar who did not shrink from undertaking such a gigantic enterprise. It is the duty of the learned world, both libraries and scholars, to assure the future of this work.

I. Tup

PARIS

Salas Barbadillo, La Peregrinación sabia y el Sagaz Estacio, Marido examinado. Prólogo de Francisco A. Icaza (Clásicos Castellanos, t. 57), Ediciones de "La Lectura," Madrid, 1924, pp. xlviii + 303.

The apparent laudable aim of this excellent series is to accurately reproduce, in attractive and readable form, the works of Spanish classic authors, the task of selecting and editing texts being intrusted to the most competent authorities on the literary field involved. It is obviously difficult to maintain a consistently high standard in such an undertaking but if in a few cases the choice of editors has left something to be desired in careful scholarship, the present volume is not to be classed among those exceptions. It is a valuable and worthy contribution to the collection. Sr. Icaza, already well known for his studies on Cervantes and other novelists of the Golden Age, is an original and conscientious critic who assumes the prologuist's responsibility seriously. His avowed purpose is to avoid the too frequent tendency to bestow extravagant praise on the author whose works are presented. Rather he prefers to give an impartial discussion of Salas' literary characteristics with some acute remarks regarding his place as a writer in the period to which he belongs. There is included biographical and bibliographical data based on previous studies by others and supplemented by Sr. Icaza's own investigations.

The text includes two works that have become rare through lack of successive reprints. The *Peregrinación Sabia* is a fable in which beasts serve to satirize the customs and traits of mankind. Two foxes, father and son, make a journey of observation among animals, and in true picaresque fashion gather worldly knowledge at the expense of others. In style and theme the selection provides an interesting

example of transition from Alemán to Quevedo.

The Sagaz Estacio, as the subtitle indicates, is a trial of husbands. Its prose dialogue form is influenced by La Celestina which Salas admired and imitated, and the poetic interpolations give evidence of his inclination toward versification. The whole is in reality a novelistic sectional view of Madrid life in the early seventeenth century. Marcela, the mistress of many lovers, considering that a properly meek spouse would be a convenient asset to quiet meddlesome tongues, announces her intention of marrying, provided she finds a man with the necessary qualifications. Various suitors, eager for her dowry, present themselves but each is dismissed as unsatisfactory with appropriate satire on the trade or profession which he represents. Finally Estacio applies and, after several tests of his capacity for absorbing dishonor, is accepted, only to reveal that he has cleverly outwitted the intriguers for the purpose of reforming his newly acquired wife.

The phraseology as well as the vocabulary of Salas is colloquial and his style is near enough akin to conceptismo to offer some difficulties to the average reader. In view of this and certain allusions in the text, it is regrettable that Sr. Icaza has not given us the benefit of his erudition in textual footnotes. He deliberately limits himself to such general comments as may find a place in his prologue, thereby omitting the specific exposition which has given to previous annotated volumes of the Clásicos their chief usefulness. Sr. Icaza's knowledge of the subject in hand might have been

most aptly utilized to clarify many passages, and, with this feature embodied, his work would have gained a great deal in value. Nevertheless we are much indebted to him for adding to the available materials for the study of the Spanish classical novel through one of its most prolific developers.

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FRENCH LITERARY NEWS IN BRIEF

LATIN PRESS: The third convention of the Latin Press took place in Florence. Among the many questions discussed was that of the exchange of professors and students between Latin and Latin-American countries. It was requested that universities should be more liberal in granting equivalences of degrees to students transferring from one university to another.-LE NAVIRE D'ARGENT: This is a new review published in Paris, 7 rue de l'Odéon: it will concern itself with literature and questions of general culture. A useful bibliography of English literature translated into French from the origins to the close of the Renaissance was begun in the first issue, June 1.—PIERRE LOUYS died in his fifty-fourth year. For about twenty years he had retired from the militant literary world, but his fame is established on the books he wrote in his youth: Chansons de Bilitis, Aphrodite, etc. . . . His influence was then very great. It is interesting to recall that he was the protector and literary guide of Claude Debussy. During the last ten years his health had been very poor. The funeral services took place at Passy in the Church of Notre-Dame de la Miséricorde. On the steps of the church the Minister of Public Instruction, M. de Monzie, paid public homage to the glory of the great artist.—CAMILLE FLAM-MARION, the world-known astronomer and philosopher, died in his eighty-third year in his Juvisy laboratory. He was one of the first to study spiritism and telepathy scientifically and made himself an apostle of the spiritualistic doctrine. His contribution to the science of astronomy is an important one. In his enthusiasm for this science he wrote several astronomical books of a popular character.—VERLAINE: Thanks to the subscription of the Mercure de France under the auspices of the "Société des amis de Verlaine," a statue of the poet by James Vibert was inaugurated in Metz on the twenty-seventh of June.—Rheims: Admirers of the cathedral will read with interest in the Revue des Deux Mondes of the first of June an article in which M. A. Hallays tells about the efforts that have been made during the last six years to restore this unique jewel of Gothic art. - Chinese Students in France: La Chine et le monde is the title of a book written by Chinese students and ex-students of the Ecole des Sciences politiques of Paris. In this book are stated the claims of China as a nation and an attempt is made to outline what the country owes to the other peoples of the world. This work is of special interest at this particular moment when Bolshevik propaganda is spreading widely in China. And, by the way, there is an interesting article on this topic by Maurice Lewandowski in the Revue des Deux Mondes of the first of June.-Europaische Revue: Prince Charles de Rohan, director of this review, the foundation of which was announced in our last number, has very clearly formulated his views on the European situation: "The danger of the complete destruction of the white race is great; more important still is that of the destruction of the soul. . . . A reciprocal penetration of national consciousness is the only way to broaden and ripen the feeling that people have about themselves and make them masters of the new situation." The aim for which the review stands is expressed in the second part of the above quotation. -INDEX BIBLIOGRAPHICUS: Under this title, the League of Nations has published an "International repertory of current sources of bibliography, periodicals and institutions" (Geneva, 1925) .- THEATRE DU PEUPLE: This is the thirtieth anniversary of the foundation of this institution by M. Maurice Pottecher in Bussang. It is a very original undertaking: the plays are specially written for it, and as to the actors, they are specially trained for this kind of performances, and they never play in another theater. In August was given Le miracle du sang, mystère en douze tableaux, by M. Pottecher,—Charcot: The centenary of the famous scientist was celebrated at the Sorbonne and at the Académie de médecine.—BARBEY D'AUREVILLY: On Sunday, July twenty-eighth, M. Henry Bordeaux delivered an address at Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte on the occasion of the inauguration of a museum where many souvenirs relating to Barbey D'Aurevilly were gathered.—PRIZES: The poet Jean Traisnel was awarded the Catulle Mendès prize for a manuscript: Le Saule. Mr. Louis Charbonneau's book Les Vainqueurs won the Renaissance prize.- JEUNES FILLES FRANCAISES: M. Gonzagur Truc is directing a most useful enquiry on the aspirations of the modern French girl. A number of letters from girls of various social conditions have been published in the January, May and June numbers of the Grande Revue. This information may be made more complete by reading M. Boulenger's article on the attitude of the French girl towards dancing in the Revue des Deux Mondes of the first of May. In contrast with this article, see also André Beaunier's Jeunes filles d'autrefois in the first of July number of the same review .-LUCIE COUSTURIER, author of Mon amie Fatou citadine (Rieder), died, exhausted by her travels in Africa where she was an apostle of the French idea among the natives. -ALBERT SAMAIN: On the seventh of June, a monument was inaugurated at Magnyles-Hameaux where the author of the Jardin de l'infante died. In Lille where the poet was born, the twenty-fifth anniversary of his death was commemorated by the special August issue of the local review the Mercure de Flandre entirely composed of articles written by friends of the poet and by men of letters who knew him .-LA COMTESSE DE NOAILLES has been elected an honorary member of the Rumanian Academy.-M. FERDINAND BRUNOT recently visited England and gave lectures at the Universities of London and Cambridge.-PRIX DU ROMAN: This prize was awarded by the French Academy to M. François Duhourcau for his novel L'Enfant de la victoire.-DIE LITERATURISCHE WELT is a new review founded in Berlin by Ernst Rowohlt; it will devote special attention to French literature.—General MANGIN: The French Academy has posthumously honored General Mangin by giving him the Grand Prix de Littérature. Gabriel Hanotaux published an exceedingly informative article on the General in the Revue des Deux Mondes of the fifteenth of June.—PIERRE HAMP, author of the well-known series La peine des hommes, was made an officer of the Legion of Honor. Alphonse de Chateaubriant and Edmond Jaloux were made chevaliers for their literary merit.—HENRY FORD'S book Ma vie et mon oeuvre (Payot) has created quite a sensation in France where few people knew the mystical background, so to speak, of the author's economic and social views.—Alpes Francaises: Professor R. Blanchard, who was visiting professor at Columbia University two years ago, has just published a book on the French Alps which will be of great interest to the American tourists who never fail to visit this most beautiful section of France.—Cahiers Verts: The sixty-fifth and last number of this series will come out at the beginning of 1926. A second series will begin on the first of April, 1926.

FRENCH BOOK-NOTES

Gassies des Brulies, Anthologie du Théâtre Français du Moyen Age. This is a charming collection of "Jeux" and "Farces" of the thirteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries arranged in modern French by a specialist of French medieval literature of whom Faguet said: "His poetry is alert, direct and is admirably fitted for the reconstruction of our old drama." The book is very different from the other anthologies of this nature, for besides the well-known farces such as Pathelin and the Cuvier it offers a collection of seldom mentioned farcés: Colin, Mattre mimin, l'Obstination des femmes. etc. . . .

J. GALTIER-BOISSIERE, La Bonne Vie. A book of intense realism, describing the cynicism and the perverse happiness of the underworld of Paris. No attempt has been made to adapt the facts to the susceptibility of the austerely minded reader.

BOUZINAC-CAMBON, Echec et Mat. The story of a man tyrannised by a mistress and a "motherly" friend and who discovers in the end the treasures of love hidden in his wife's heart. The character of the motherly friend, so jealous in an affection that only admits the very kind of happiness she wishes for the one she loves, is a masterpiece.

EDOUARD MAYNIAL, Vie de J. H. Fabre. The third volume of a new collection of French biographies written by prominent authors such as René Bazin, H. Bordeaux, etc. . . . They are meant for young people to whom they will offer examples of heroes who sacrificed everything to the pursuit of an ideal. This book outlines the life and work of the famous entomologist who was at the same time a true poet of nature. In the same series have been published a Victor Hugo and a Guynemer, le chevalier de l'air.

P. MARTIAL-LEKEUX, Maggy. Touching biography of a young French woman who, during the war, gave up her social life to teach poor children and do missionary work among the miners in the most sordid districts. A striking example of complete sacrifice. The book was written by the heroine's brother, author also of Mes clottres dans la tempête.

HESSE ET NASTORG, Leur Manière. This is a very successful adaptation of the well-known A la manière de . . . to the world of "avocats." Henri Poincaré, P. Boncour, A. Millerand, etc. . . . have been cleverly sketched by their "confrères." (The authors are lawyers themselves.)

CAMI, Les Exploits Galants du Baron de Crac. Somewhat "free," but very funny indeed. Undoubtedly the most amusing book of the famous humorist.

LEON DEUTSCH, J'Ai Acheté Cette Femme. A young woman is loved by a man who, although he seems somewhat cynical, is at heart an idealist. Will he or will he not win her by dint of money? The interest of this novel lies in the characters that represent faithfully the psychology of to-day.

RAYMOND SCHWAB, Mathias Crismant. The complete biography of a poet whose refined sensitiveness and mental isolation prevented friendship and love from bringing him solace. The work is based on many quotations from the writings of Crismant. . . . And still, is not Crismant a creation of Schwab's imagination? (See Revue Hebdomadaire, 4, vii, p. 104.)

DANIEL MORNET, Histoire Générale de la Littérature Française. The material has been handled in an absolutely new way. The book is divided into two parts: the first one deals with general literature, and outlines the main currents of thought throughout the centuries and the general tendencies of important writers; in the second the most significant works are studied in detail in the light of modern erudition. It is an original text book and affords most interesting reading for the general public.

MAXIME PETIT, Histoire Générale des Peuples. The first volume is out: it outlines the development of civilization from beginnings to the end of the Middle Ages. 600 illustrations.

RENÉ VAILLANT

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BOOKS RECEIVED

- J. et J. Tharaud, La Vie et la mort de Déroulède.-Plon.
- Panait Istrati, Présentation des Haïdoucs.-Rieder.
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 Languages. Cornell University, 1868-1024, pp. 42. A list of 331 titles covering a
- Bibliography of the Writings of Thomas Frederick Crane, Professor Emeritus, Romance Languages, Cornell University, 1868-1924, pp. 42. A list of 331 titles covering a wide range of subjects and in which one can trace the history of Romance studies for more than a half century. This great pioneer in our field of research deserves our heartiest congratulations not only for this remarkable record of achievement but also for the interest he has aroused in others.



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